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PRESBYTERIAN DEACONESES.

BY REV. GEORGE W. GILMORE.

If "coming events cast their shadows before," the office of deaconess approaches reconstitution in the Presbyterian Church. The many articles which have appeared in magazines and reviews within the last few years, the overtures to General Assembly from presbyteries geographically widely separated, and the deep interest manifested in the discussions in presbytery and in General Assembly, all lead to the conviction that the movement toward a revival of the office of deaconess is approaching a successful issue.

That we may the better understand what the footing is at present, it is advisable to review briefly what has been done hitherto in the highest court of the Church with reference to this office; confining ourselves, however, to action subsequent to the Reunion.

In 1876 the Presbytery of Northumberland (Pennsylvania) requested the General Assembly to overture the presbyteries authorizing the constitution of the office of deaconess, and defining its duties. The General Assembly did not deem it advisable at that time to send down any overture on the subject. In 1884 the Presbytery of Cairo (Illinois) overtured, asking (1) if the election of female members of churches to the office of deacon was consistent with Presbyterian polity, and (2) if so, should they be installed, and what form should be used?

This looked very much like an attempt to evade the opposition a formal reconstitution of the female diaconate would arouse. To the overture the General Assembly answered that the Form of Government, xiii. 2, requires all such officers to be males. That in the Apostolic Church women do not appear to have occupied a separate office, to have been elected or installed. The next year the same presbytery overtured

again, asking for an interpretation and application of this deliverance, to which the reply was given that the deliverance of 1884 was sufficiently plain.

The General Assembly of 1889 received an overture from the influential and conservative Presbytery of Philadelphia calling for a consideration of the question of constituting an order of deaconesses. The result was that a committee was appointed to report to the next General Assembly on the advisability of the proposed action. This committee consisted of the Rev. Drs. Warfield, Nicolls, and McCook, and elders Perkins and Van Norden. It reported to the General Assembly of 1890 that the office (1) "appears" to have been in the Apostolic and subapostolic Church; (2) has always found sanction in (some of) the Reformed churches; (3) is being revived in other churches holding to the Presbyterian system, and (4) is demanded because of the practical needs of Christian work. It recommended an overture to the presbyteries (which was sent down) as follows: "Shall the following sections be added to the Form of Government—viz.: (1) in chap. vi., a section to be numbered section 2, as follows: 'II. Women also served the Apostolical Church as deaconesses, whose office and duties were similar to those of deacons'; and (2) in chap. xiii., a section to be numbered section 9, as follows: 'Deaconesses may be elected to office in a manner similar to that appointed for deacons, and set apart by prayer.'"

The committee thus brought before the Church through the presbyteries the question of constituting the "congregational" female diaconate. It also suggested the advisability of establishing deaconess houses either after the Kaiserswerth plan or after that of the Church of Scotland and the Methodist Episcopal Church in America,

intimating that such a step would meet a "decided practical demand." In the General Assembly of 1891 the latter question came up, as the Presbytery of Nuncio (Indiana) asked General Assembly "to appoint a committee to report on the advisability of prescribing work for an order of trained deaconesses." The committee to which this overture was referred deemed that the time was not yet ripe, and recommended no action. In the same assembly the answers to the overture of the preceding Assembly were canvassed, and appeared to indicate a decidedly muddled condition of the mind of the Church. The committee which considered and tabulated the answers reached the only conclusion warranted—"The overture is defeated in both its amendments." Difficulty was caused, however, by many presbyteries separating the parts of the overture and voting on each proposed amendment separately as a distinct overture. The results were as follows (Minutes of General Assembly, new series, vol. xiv., p. 136) :

Affirmative on both amendments.....	53
Negative " " "	84
Negative on the first and affirmative on the second.....	59
Affirmative on the first and negative on the second.....	2
No action on the first and affirmative on the second.....	6
Formal vote of no action.....	3
No report.....	9
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Total number of presbyteries.....	216

The comment of the committee appointed to canvass the replies was : "It is quite obvious that the vote furnishes no sufficient means of determining the mature judgment of the Church. If the two amendments constituted one overture, and if the vote should have been upon this as a whole, the overture is clearly defeated, there being only fifty-three votes in its favor. If, however, presbyteries were at liberty to make a choice between voting on it as a whole, and voting upon its two amendments separately, then the first amendment is lost and the second carried. . . . It is hazardous to affirm that the Church has deliberately rejected the whole overture or deliberately endorsed the second amendment. . . . The vote seems clearly to indicate a desire for the second amendment, or rather, if we are to attach any importance to the opinions which accompany the votes in many instances, seems to make it manifest that women clothed with office are desired as helpers in religious work. . . ." (Min-

utes of General Assembly, vol. xiv., pp. 136-137.)

From the foregoing it is clear that no decisive answer was returned to the overture. It is equally evident that what we may call the bill for the constitution (or reconstitution) of the office of deaconess was handicapped by the rider—the first amendment proposed—to the effect that "women also served the Apostolical Church as deaconesses." The judgment of the Church appears to have been that that statement rests upon too precarious a basis to be allowed in the Form of Government. Analysis of the vote upon the overture points to the conclusion that the revival of the office is favored by a majority of the presbyteries. At any rate, there is so little assurance upon the subject, and yet so widespread a desire for the office manifested, that, notwithstanding the number of articles which have appeared, there seems yet to be room for a discussion of the matter, especially in view of the overture which comes down to the presbyteries from the General Assembly of 1892.

We must not forget, however, to discriminate between two notions of the female diaconate—the congregational and the communal. The one removes in no way the deaconess from her home and local church relations—simply clothes her with official authority while engaged in works of mercy. The other approaches the idea of a sisterhood. It puts the deaconess midway between the trained nurse and the sister of mercy. While making no reflection on the establishment of the female diaconate as in the Kaiserswerth institution in Germany and in the Protestant Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal churches in the United States, we believe that the congregational diaconate is the only one that the Presbyterian Church is prepared to establish; and it is the one which alone can, at least as yet, work in harmony both with the polity and the practical life of that body.

Those who argue for the constitution, or revival, of this office must use one or more of three lines of argument: the biblical or exegetical, the historical, and what, for lack of a better name, we may call the exigencial.

I. The exegetical argument has as its principal basis Rom. xvi. 1, 2. The argument from this passage rests properly not merely on the use of the word *διάκονον*, which might be generic and not mean specifically "deaconess;" but is founded upon the use of that word in the closest connection with *-ῆς ἐκκλησίας*, and also upon the implication of official business in which

Phebe was engaged and the reference to the sacerdot given to Paul and to many.

It will readily be granted that *διάκονος* means, etymologically, servant; but the claim is that in this passage not less than in 1 Tim. iii. 8, 10, 12, the word is technical and refers to an office. That just as the word *βιττισμα* etymologically means a dipping, but came to denote a rite, so *διάκονος* had become the *terminus technicus* of an order in the Church. As the word is of common gender, no argument lies against the technical meaning in the passage under consideration. So far as etymology and usage go, there is nothing against the application of the word in this sense to a woman. If, then, on other grounds the word seems to be used in the official sense, a clear gain is made. It is to be noted that the versions give weight to the contention we are making. The Vulgate translates *διάκονος*, etc., by "quae est in ministerio ecclesiae." The Arabic favors the translation "deaconess," and the early Syriac gives nothing against it, being a close translation of the original. We remark, however, that Castelli's lexicon gives the technical meaning in the Syriac and points out that the word which translates *διάκονος* is the title which deacons and deaconesses afterward bore. Serving as an index to the meaning of the Vulgate *in ministerio* is the well-known letter of Pliny, referring to the "duae ancillae quae ministrae dicebantur." Evidently, as Dr. Warfield has pointed out,* the term which *ministrae* translated had become the name of an office, and the exactness of the correspondence to *διάκονος* is very noticeable. In view of this and of the clearly technical meaning in 1 Tim. iii. 8, etc., evidently *in ministerio ecclesiae* must be rendered "in the diaconate of the church." If the point be made that the Vulgate but reflected the practice of the Church three centuries later, the reply is that Pliny's letter dates about A.D. 112, and that its peculiar phraseology, showing a terminology already current, and not the usage of the later Church, is our guide to the interpretation of the passage.

But the limitation of the argument to the word *διάκονος* does not bring out the full strength of the biblical warrant for the office. Were it not for the setting of the word, it might mean "servant" here; but we submit that the moment one gets hold of the fact that Phebe was a servant of the Church, an official relation is the only one which satisfies the conditions. We have

many instances in the New Testament of the employment of *διάκονος* with *θεοῦ*, *Ιησοῦ χριστοῦ*, *αὐτοῦ*, and the like; but in this case alone is *τῆς ἵκλησας* joined as the limiting genitive. In most other cases the relation does not admit the translation "deacon;" this one really permits no other: for that one should be, as was Phebe, a servant of a church, and yet not in official relations with it, seems all but paradoxical. As a further hint of the official relations she sustained, we find Paul referring to some business in prosecuting which she might need the help of the *Church at Rome*. For note that this letter is to the "saints . . . that be in Rome." It is hardly likely that St. Paul, writing to a local church, would charge it to give assistance in business of a private nature.

We have referred to Rom. xvi. as the passage on which reliance is to be placed as warrant for the office. To the mind of the writer 1 Tim. iii. 11 is hardly less conclusive, though with much diffidence does he venture to differ from Dr. Warfield:† but for a discussion of this point the reader is referred to the exhaustive article by Dr. McGill in the *Presbyterian Review*, vol. i., pp. 274-275. The erudite author of that article there discussed other passages which he considered bore on the question; but we believe that, while the exegesis he gave best elucidates the passages, the bulwark of authority, the plainest warrant for the order, must rest on the two passages to which we have referred, if not indeed on Rom. xvi. 1, 2 alone.

Those who deny the force of the biblical argument, who can see in the passages referred to no warrant for the office, cannot so easily parry the thrust of

II. The historical argument. If they grant the validity and fact of diocesan episcopacy as developed from the local *ἐπίσκοπος*, they must also grant the early existence of the female diaconate. We have already referred to the letter of Pliny in which he speaks of a class of handmaidens who were known by the name "ministrae," a word which exactly translates *διάκονος*. This testimony from a man whose reputation as an exact and scientific observer stands all but unrivaled among the ancients, and who is in the passage quoted reporting the results of personal investigation, is of the greatest weight in determining the existence of the order in the immediately sub-apostolic Church. No matter what may be the results of investigation as to the iden-

* *Presbyterian Review*, I., 284.

† *Presbyterian Review*, X., 283.

tity of the vidua and the (later) *διακονίσσα*, the conclusion is irresistible that Pliny spoke of deaconesses.

It is singular that the only clear testimony we have to the existence of this order in the second century should come from a heathen. References to the vidua abound between A.D. 100 and A.D. 225, but the canons which show that the deaconesses were elected from the viduae suggest an early identity. Indeed, Epiphanius expressly says that deaconesses were called *χήρας*: but we can find no indisputable reference to the order in Christian literature during that time, for the pseudo-Ignatian letter to the Antiochians, where occurs the phrase (chap. xii.) *τας της χριστοῦ διακονους*, cannot be placed earlier than the latter part of the third century. As Dr. Warfield has pointed out, the literature extant indicates that the vidua overshadowed, or rather crowded out, in the second century, the deaconess, and that the latter office was "recreated" in the third century. In the light of this it is doubtful whether Grapte (Hermae Pastor, I., ii. 1, 4) was a deaconess or a vidua. Certainly she was an official. It is noteworthy that Lightfoot rejects in the passage of the Ignatian letter to the church at Smyrna (chap. xiii. *τας παρθένων τας λεγομένας χήρας*) the interpretation that assumes, from the use of *παρθένων*, that the vidua and deaconess were identical. The famous passage in Lucian proves nothing in regard to the office we are considering. Even Clement of Alexandria (c. A.D. 200), enumerating the orders ("chosen persons") of the Church, names priests, bishops, deacons, and widows.

But from that time on the references are numerous; and the character of these allusions is not such as presuppose a newly established office. Many of them bear the complexion of advice having clearly the object of preventing or correcting abuses arising in a long-existing institution. Such, for instance, are those found in the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions (composed c. A.D. 280). See, for instance, ii. 26, 57, 58; iii. 7, where the widows are subject to the deaconesses; iii. 15; vi. 17, where the deaconess is to be a virgin, or, at least, a widow who has had but one husband. The passages viii. 17, 19, 20 are to be referred to a much later date. There are likewise found in the historians incidental references the nature of which preclude the supposition that they are interpolations inserted with the view of bolstering a theory. For some of these see Sozomen,

Ecc. Hist., viii. 9, 23, 24; ix. 23; and Theodoret, xiv. Similarly we have the life of a deaconess written by Gregory of Nyssa (d. A.D. 395), while Epiphanius speaks of them exceeding often (e.g., Expos. Fidei, xxi.; Har., lxxix. 4). If we look at the records of the councils, the office stares out at us from the canons: such councils, for instance, as the Nicene, the fourth of Carthage (A.D. 409[?]), that of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), and the Trullan of A.D. 692. No less certain is the evidence from the Novella of Justinian.

The office was abolished in the French Synods of Orange (A.D. 441) and Epaon (A.D. 517). It gradually died out in the West, but survived in the East until the twelfth century, where from the customs which hedged about the women and almost necessitated its continuance it naturally lingered longest.

From this necessarily brief review, which only hints at the large number of passages we have left out of sight, some idea can be gained of the assurance which is warranted as we assert the historicity of the female diaconate. With the deaconess in Rom. xvi. 1, 2, the passage in Pliny, the identity of the vidua and deaconess positively asserted by Epiphanius, the regulations in the Apostolic Constitutions (the early portions), and the canons of the councils, the chain of evidence is fairly complete. We are not concerned here with the causes which led to the lapse of the office. We are dealing with its existence, not with its desuetude; and we have not the space to more than mention that for a long time deaconesses stood among the clergy.

Notwithstanding the strength of their case, advocates of the restoration of the female diaconate do not place their entire reliance upon either of the arguments summarized above. These arguments are merely preliminary to the real reason for the revival of the office. They but anticipate the objection which some would interpose that the office is an innovation, are preliminary to the sounding of the true *motif* of the movement.

If it be shown that many of the best exeges with good reason hold to the existence in the Apostolic Church of an order of deaconesses; that in the subapostolic age these deaconesses were undoubtedly active, and that the third century sees them well established to last in the West till the sixth century and in the East till the twelfth—then, surely, no *a priori* reason can lie against the revival of the order providing

circumstances favor, or, still more, demand such revival. This last and weightiest we have called

III. The exigencial argument. The call comes from three sources.

A. THE CHURCH wants the deaconess, to supplement the force of workers it as an organization has now engaged. Just as the Church in other than parochial departments of labor has found women a force; as, for instance, the mission boards, which would have to close their labors in many most promising fields were the women's boards to cease their operations, have come to feel the necessity of woman's aid; in like manner, our Church is fast coming to the belief that if the female diaconate be established, ere many years the organization will wonder how it ever existed without the auxiliary force. The competency of woman is no longer questioned. Her ability needs no longer be put to the test. In many departments of secular labor she has prospered, often against persistent, even bitter, opposition. Her success in the field now offering is not doubtful. The need for her assistance can be brought before the mind by the question, "Can, or do, the deacons accomplish all that ought to be done of the work which, according to Presbyterian rule and practice, pertains to the diaconate?" With but few exceptions the men who serve as deacons are business men who can give only a modicum of their time to the duties of their office.

Of course in this we are lodging no complaint against them. We are simply calling attention to the fact that by the competition of trade in the Western world they are necessarily more than ever absorbed in the cares which competition in business involves. On the other hand, our civilization gives to women much greater opportunities for work outside the home than any former age permitted to them. The Church demands, therefore, that the women whose time can be given come to the aid of the men, whose leisure for church work is so contracted.

Further than this, the Church has employment for its women as officers, even though it be conceded that the deacons do all the work which they may do, all that comes before them. How few are the pastors of a few years' service who cannot recall cases of distress which deacons could not reach, of which they might not even be cognizant! Just as in the early Church deaconesses were required to assist at the baptism and even in the indoctrination of

women, that the proprieties might be observed, so in these latter days there are deeds to be done, contingencies to be met which cannot be entrusted to the deacons. Instances of misfortune might be adduced where trouble which could not be confided to a man weighed down almost to the grave those to whom it came. Yet had there been an order of deaconesses, the cause of the distress could have been revealed and calamity averted by the help which would surely have come.

Moreover, the Church is extending, not contracting nor confining itself to its present area of activity. Therefore, since it has within itself the laborers who are fitted by nature's own hand for the work thus within reach, it demands permission to engage in this work, to cultivate to the furthest limit with the willing hands at its service the fields which wait to be tilled.

In eleemosynary labors woman has demonstrated her ability. Since the State has discovered how valuable are woman's services as commissioners of charities, the Church has learned a lesson, and asks leave to employ the energies of devoted Christian women.

B. The petition of the Church is seconded by those whose needs are to be filled, by what we may call the constituency of the deaconesses. If the Church is anxious to relieve those within its borders who cry for succor, no less do the necessitous themselves require a help that can so easily be offered. Especially in our large cities, which are more and more becoming the centres of a population, a large proportion of which is indigent and distressed; from which the wealthy are more and more retiring as their palaces are flanked by warehouses or by the tenement-houses of the poor; where great wealth, in selfish enjoyment, blinks at the needs of the poor or relieves its conscience by alms which, being impersonal, serve but to intensify class pride and widen the gulf between the "classes and the masses;" the needs of these same "masses," unministered to by loving care, cry out like

"Sweet Cæsar's wounds, poor, poor dumb mouths,"^{*} for personal contact with a charity which "is kind," for an interest that is individual, for the gracious ministrations tendered by woman's gentle hands. Dr. McGill concisely voiced this cry when he said:^{*} "Without a full diaconate, male and female,

identified *in form as well as in fact* with the Church at home, we can hardly hope to retain our poor, born within our pale, and much less gather from the world its down-trodden millions, who languish for good Samaritans to come on their way : and wanting the poor, we shall want a full church, and be without a full representation of Christ Himself with us always."

This, however, is not all of the case. It is not to be supposed that Christian women are idle. They have already entered with zest and discretion into every department of church work. "Never was there a time when they were so abundant in their ministries." They have not waited to be made officers of the Church before proving their fitness, have not waited unbusied until the prestige of official standing should enable them to exercise their talents with prospects of success.

Consequently, not the feeblest and, to the just, not the least forcible argument is

C. The demand which their abundant fruitfulness makes for the bestowal of official authority. We must not be misunderstood here. It must not be imagined that these unselfish workers are asking recognition. They are not standing at the street corners or on the housetops proclaiming their deeds ; but it is those very deeds, unobtrusively done, that patient bearing of others' burdens in secret lifted from weary shoulders, which is now making itself heard. There is no flourish of trumpets heralding the approach of an army of women coming to carry by storm the Assembly's stronghold and compel from it an unwilling and grudging permission to work in the Church's official garb. Hardly a single woman has been heard on the subject. The voices which have been raised have been those of men who were forced by admiration of what the women have accomplished, and by insight into what they can do to ask that the Church, in justice to them, as well as to itself, recruit its officials from those who already bear no small part of the heat and burden of the day. What the women have done and are doing forces the question whether the Church is not impoverishing its treasury, weakening its influence, and wasting much of its material, by hesitating to "identify *in form as well as in fact*" with its official workers an able, proficient, resolute, and consecrated body of deaconesses such as would be subject and would respond to immediate call. Therefore reconstitute the order. The opportunities are large, the force to improve them is at hand, the result will not be doubtful.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY AS A THEOLOGIAN.*

BY PROFESSOR W. SANDAY, D.D.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), September, 1892.

SOMETIMES one hears a rumbling of thunder in the distance without leaving one's daily tasks or sallying forth to watch the storm. That has been my case in regard to the controversies in which for the last five or six years Professor Huxley has held the lists against all comers. The *Nineteenth Century* did not come in my way, and I thought that I could form a fair guess as to the course things were taking, and that I could afford to wait until it was possible to read the articles in connected sequence. The opportunity has now been given for this by the reprint of the Essays in a handsome and convenient form.†

The theologian who takes up a book of Professor Huxley's will, of course, do so with somewhat mixed feelings. He must be prepared for hard hitting, which he knows will fall mainly upon his side of the question. But if he can put up with this, he may expect to find no little compensation in the terse and trenchant formulating of points which will be a real help to him in his own thinking.

How far will the present volume meet these expectations ? To some extent I think it will meet them, but on the whole I confess that I find it disappointing. To say that it is Professor Huxley's is to say that it is trenchant ; no one can complain of any deficiency in this respect. To say that it is Professor Huxley's is also to say that it must contain some good formulating of points. But, perhaps, it is due to the form in which the articles first appeared that there is a good deal of diffuseness and repetition. The whole might with advantage have been compressed into just half the space. But, apart from this, it seems to bring out into more prominence than I had anticipated some of the limitations of the author's mind and methods.

Looking at the book as a sign of the times, there are some ways at least in which it may give us cause for congratulation. One aspect of it in particular is highly satisfactory. It would seem as if the long-standing feud between theology and science was at last practically ended. It is at least at

* "Essays upon some Controversial Questions." By Thomas H. Huxley, F.R.S. London : Macmillan & Co. 1892.

† It ought, perhaps, to be explained that I have thought it better to confine myself to Professor Huxley's volume, and that I have not read the papers which he criticised or which were written in reply to him, except the concluding chapter of "The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture."

an end generally and in the abstract, though of course individual men of science and individual theologians may still fall foul of each other on occasion. The essay entitled "An Episcopal Trilogy" is now five years old, and it marked at the time the striking contrast brought about in the course of a quarter of a century. That Professor Huxley should have nothing but compliments to exchange with three representatives of the episcopal bench preaching at a meeting of the British Association was evidently a surprise to him. It is only justice to add that he meets the bishops as frankly as they meet him. We may take it, I think, that the *concordat* has been signed and sealed. Certainly the last five years have shown no disposition to disturb it.

But if this is so, may we not put aside, as really out of date, not a few denunciatory pages which have no longer any object? "The cleric," we are told, "asserts that it is morally wrong not to believe certain propositions, whatever the results of a strict scientific investigation of the evidence of these propositions. He tells us that 'religious error is, in itself, of an immoral nature'" (p. 453). The quotation is from Dr. Newman's essay on "Development." But I doubt whether Dr. Newman himself would have written quite the same words in his old age. In any case, I should greatly doubt whether many could be found to echo them now. May we not consider all this past and done with, and spare ourselves any further heartburnings on the subject?

I would go a step further, and ask whether it would not be possible to bring about something of a similar *modus vivendi* with the Agnostics? Professor Huxley gives us an interesting account of the origin of the term, which he himself invented. One is glad to see that the editor of the New English Dictionary was aware of this. He refers to a letter of Mr. R. H. Hutton's, but now we have it from the author himself:

"When I reached intellectual maturity and began to ask myself whether I was an atheist, a theist, or a pantheist; a materialist or an idealist; a Christian or a free-thinker; I found that the more I learned or reflected the less ready was the answer. . . . So I took thought, and invented what I conceived to be the appropriate title of 'Agnostic.' It came into my head as suggestively antithetic to the 'Gnostic' of Church history, who professed to know so much about the very things about which I was ignorant. . . . To my great satisfaction the term took, and when the *Spectator* had stood godfather to it, any suspicion in the minds of respectable people that a knowledge of its parentage might have awakened was, of course, completely lulled" (pp. 354-356).

The term Agnosticism is Professor Huxley's choice to describe his own opinions; and he has drawn up a list of other terms, all but the last of which ("free-thinker") he expressly repudiates. One of the essays (No. V.) is a direct reply to a writer who had charged him with materialism. I was quite prepared for this, because I remember with equal pleasure and gratitude reading many years ago the article on "Descartes" in "Lay Sermons and Addresses," in which Professor Huxley laid down his own creed on that point. To one who is no professed philosopher that article has done duty for much philosophy ever since. The consciousness of this makes me feel a certain sense of sympathy with all this side of Professor Huxley's opinions; so much so that I am tempted to think that a very little more might bring us into harmony. Perhaps I ought not to speak for others, because I do not know how far my own notions on these points might find acceptance, but at least the gap does not seem great which separates them from the position taken up by Professor Huxley. Here, for instance, is the way in which objections often brought, or supposed to be brought, from natural science are disposed of:

"Every one of the speculative difficulties which beset Kant's three problems—the existence of a Deity, the freedom of the will, and immortality—existed ages before anything that can be called physical science, and would continue to exist if modern physical science were swept away. All that physical science has done has been to make, as it were, visible and tangible some difficulties that formerly were more hard of apprehension" (p. 229).

And then this proposition is expanded in more detail:

"The student of Nature, who starts from the axiom of the universality of the law of causation, cannot refuse to admit an eternal existence; if he admits the conservation of energy, he cannot deny the existence of an eternal energy; if he admits the existence of immaterial phenomena in the form of consciousness, he must admit the possibility, at any rate, of an eternal series of such phenomena."

"So with respect to immortality. As physical science states this problem, it seems to stand thus: Is there any means of knowing whether the series of states of consciousness, which has been casually associated for threescore years and ten with the arrangement and movements of immeasurable millions of successively different material molecules, can be continued in like association with some substance which has not the properties of matter and force? As Kant said, on a like occasion, 'If anybody can answer that question, he is just the man I want to see.'

"Lastly, with respect to the old riddle of the freedom of the will. In the only sense in which the word freedom is intelligible to me—that is to say, the absence of any restraint upon doing what

one likes within certain limits—physical science certainly gives no more ground for doubting it than the common sense of mankind does. And if physical science, in strengthening our belief in the universality of causation and abolishing chance as an absurdity, leads to the conclusions of determination, it does no more than follow the track of consistent and logical thinkers in philosophy and theology, before it existed or was thought of" (p. 230).

So far, good. But I confess that I should like to carry the discussion on these points a little further, on premisses with which I know that Professor Huxley would agree.

All sure knowledge is knowledge of states of consciousness and nothing more. The moment we step outside those states of consciousness and begin to assign a cause to them, we pass into the region of hypothesis or assumption. The first effort of thought is to distinguish between "self" and "not-self"; but neither of the "self" nor of the "not-self" have we any true knowledge; we do not even know that they exist, much less how they exist or what they are. We might as well call the one *x* and the other *y* as give them the names we do. And if this holds good for a process of thought which seems so elementary, much more must it hold good for others which are more remote. When we call things about us and give them names, as Adam is described as doing, what we really name is only the states of our own consciousness, not the things themselves. Judged by the standard of strict logic, the world which we inhabit is a world of visions, of phantasma, of hypothetical existences, and hypothetical relations. All thought and all the objects of thought are at bottom pure hypothesis. Its validity is only relative. The propositions which we call true are not true in themselves. When we call them "true," all that we mean is that to assume them gives unity and harmony to the operations of the thinking mind.

The belief that we can trust our memory, that one state of consciousness is like another preceding state of consciousness, that the Ego is a centre of permanence, that Nature is uniform, and that what has happened to-day will also happen to-morrow—all these beliefs stand upon the same footing. They are "working hypotheses," assumptions which enable us to think coherently; we cannot say more.

The different assumptions no doubt vary in the degree to which they are necessary to the process of thinking. Some are absolutely indispensable and underlie the whole fabric of mental construction; others extend only to part of that fabric. Still they, too, contribute something to the whole.

They are stepping-stones by the help of which we cross the morass and join one path to another.

We do not say that the belief in God possesses quite the highest degree of necessity. It is possible to get on without it. But we do say that it possesses a high degree; that in certain departments—and those by no means recondite departments—of speculation and practice, we get on far better with it. In the lives of numbers of persons it bears a very large part. And it has borne so large a part, so far back in the world's history, that consequences from it have been established among the mental habits of the race in such a way as to be almost ineradicable. Men act on the belief in God without knowing it; and the action of logic is so slow that it might be subtracted for some time without its loss being felt.

All this does not amount to proof that the belief in God is a valid belief—a belief, that is, which ought to be entertained. The proof of this may best take the form of a concrete example. But as one of Professor Huxley's essays, to which I hope to come shortly, gives just such an example, I will leave the prosecution of this argument for the present.

I must, however, before returning to it, say just a word on the subject of free will. I would ask leave here to supplement the remarks which have been quoted above by a sentence from the earlier essay on "Des cartes":

"When they [the Materialists] go further than I think they are entitled to do—when they introduce Calvinism into science, and declare that man is nothing but a machine, I do not see any particular harm in their doctrines, so long as they admit that which is a matter of experimental fact—namely, *that it is a machine capable of adjusting itself within certain limits.*" *

The italics are mine. The concession seems to me an important one, though I confess that I do not exactly see how it is to be reconciled with one of the *dicta* in the later volume:

"The essence of that which is improperly called the free-will doctrine is that occasionally, at any rate, human volition is self-caused—that is to say, not caused at all; for to cause oneself, one must have antecedent oneself—which is, to say the least of it, difficult to imagine" (p. 231).

Is not the older phrase about the machine "adjusting itself" open to precisely the same criticism? Has the writer changed his mind between the two books? I suspect that it is not that, but only the old story, which is quite as true of free will as

* "Lay Sermons, &c.," p. 372 f.

it is of nature, that when expelled at one door it comes in at another.

I, too, am something of an Agnostic. And the ground on which I am most inclined to take refuge in Agnosticism is just this of free will. It passes my comprehension to know how the will can be free. I cannot find any flaw in Professor Huxley's reasoning on this head. I shrink myself from using such a phrase as "uncaused volition." To me, too, it conveys no intelligible meaning.

But for all that the will *must* be free. If the wording of the proposition be disputed, I am not prepared to contend for it. Let it be called *x*, for want of anything better. But, by whatever name it is called and however it is defined, and, when defined, however it is justified, there is *something* by virtue of which man is a responsible being—treated as such by his fellow-men, and liable (we may suppose) to be treated as such by other Beings, if there are any. That is the main point, which neither Professor Huxley nor any one else can overthrow. We must in the end come back to the conclusion stated a century and a half ago by Bishop Butler :

"And therefore, though it were admitted that this opinion of necessity were speculatively true, yet, with regard to practice, it is as if it were false, so far as our experience reaches—that is, to the whole of our present life. For the constitution of the present world, and the condition in which we are placed, is as if we were free. And it may perhaps justly be concluded, that since the whole process of action through every step of it, suspense, deliberation, inclining one way, determining, and at last doing as we determine, is as if we were free, therefore we are so" ("Analogy," Part I, chap. vi.).

Observe the good Bishop's wise reserve. "It may perhaps justly be concluded," is all that he will say. The opinion of free will does not rise above a hypothesis. It exists only for the "practical reason." But in the sphere of the practical reason, and as a hypothesis, it is as necessary as the law of causation itself. In other words, it is as binding upon man as if it were absolute truth.

The essays in this volume fall into three main groups, which, however, have a tendency to run into each other. There is one group on Agnosticism in the abstract; another group on the Cosmogony of Genesis and the Deluge; a third, the principal subject of which is the miracle of the Gadarene demoniac. On the first of these groups I have spoken; the second I do not propose to touch. On its leading topic it seems to

me that exactly the right thing was said by Dr. Driver in an article in the *Expositor* for January 1886, and I would rather refer to that article than attempt any fresh discussion of my own. The subject is one which is, I think, by this time pretty well understood.

Somewhat outside the three groups is an essay entitled "The Evolution of Theology." This essay is described as "an anthropological study," and it is explained that in it "theology is regarded as a natural product of the operations of the human mind under the conditions of its existence, just as any other branch of science, or the arts of architecture, or music, or painting are such products" (p. 132). Practically, the essay is a sketch of the history of religious ideas in Israel, with a detailed statement of parallels furnished by savage religions for some prominent features in the Books of Samuel. By way of appendix, some four pages (pp. 203–207) are devoted to an outline of the course of Christian history down to the present time. The centre of gravity, however, is thrown mainly on to the earlier period. For this, as is natural, recourse is had to critical authorities, and an imposing list of these is given in the notes on pp. 137, 189. But I am afraid it is too evident that in these historical inquiries the Professor is off his proper ground, and he is betrayed into some very loose writing, in which all sorts of incongruous ideas are mixed up together. A conspicuous instance is given in the last of the two notes referred to. We are not, of course, surprised that the account of the Exodus and of the wanderings in the wilderness of Sinai is rejected. In support of this position reference is made to the works of Reuss and Wellhausen, and especially to Stade's "Geschichte des Volkes Israel." The next eight pages are devoted to speculations as to the way in which either Moses himself, or the later representations of his history, may have borrowed prominent features in the religion from Egypt. Naturally one supposes that there is some connection between these views and those of the eminent critics whose names had just been mentioned as general authorities for the whole subject. I do not happen to have Reuss by me, but both Wellhausen and Stade are directly opposed to the theory which would explain the Mosaic religion by Egyptian influences. Wellhausen writes thus :

"Moses gave no new idea of God to his people. The question whence he derived it therefore need not be raised. It could not possibly be worse answered, however, than by a reference to his rela-

tions with the priestly caste of Egypt and their wisdom. It is not to be believed that an Egyptian deity could inspire the Hebrews of Goshen with courage for the struggle against the Egyptians, or that an abstraction of esoteric speculation could become the national deity of Israel."^{*}

(Compare this especially with p. 194 of the essay.) Stade is equally emphatic :

" People, especially Egyptologists, have often amused themselves by the supposition that Moses carried over to Israel elements of Egyptian theology. This supposition is devoid of all real foundation (*jeden realen Hintergrundes bear*). One could not tell what the ancient Hebrews should have borrowed from the ancient Egyptians. What has been alleged to be so borrowed is in part altogether alien (*von Haus aus fremd*) to the ancient religion of Israel, and only was developed in it by degrees, and that, too, spontaneously, and in part is of no importance in it (*spielt es in ihr keine Rolle*)."[†]

It would be easy to confirm this judgment from other leading authorities.[‡] There is, in fact, a strong set of critical authorities in the opposite direction to that which Professor Huxley has followed.

Going back to the substance of the essay, I do not wish to dispute the analogies which are produced—*e.g.*, to the witch of Endor, the use of teraphim, ephod, &c. One who approaches the subject as Professor Huxley does was sure to lay stress on these. But did they constitute the whole or the really characteristic part of the religion of Israel in that age? Let it be remembered that we are speaking of the "evolution of theology," and that the state of things at any given time must have its antecedents. We descend the stream from two to three centuries, and what do we find? Professor Huxley shall speak for us :

" All the more remarkable therefore is the extraordinary change which is to be noted in the eighth century B.C. The student who is familiar with the theology implied, or expressed, in the Books of Judges and Samuel and the First Book of Kings, finds himself in a new world of thought, in the full tide of a great reformation when he reads Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah" (p. 198).

It is true that the prophets put forward some new ideas, but the essence of their teaching is not new. The broad lines of Israel's religion were traced before it came down to them; there is no real break, no abrupt change. If the prophets assert the claims of morality, it is not as a new thing; they only remind the people of duties which it is assumed that they well knew.

But what is the source of all this?

Whence did the prophets get their high and pure ideal? Professor Huxley in his better moments is not unjust to the religion of Israel. Here, for instance, is some generous testimony :

" The Bible has been the *Magna Charta* of the poor and of the oppressed; down to modern times, no State has had a constitution in which the interests of the people are so largely taken into account, in which the duties so much more than the privileges of rulers are insisted upon, as that drawn up for Israel in Deuteronomy and in Leviticus; nowhere is the fundamental truth that the welfare of the State, in the long run, depends on the uprightness of the citizen so strongly laid down" (p. 52).

And here again :

" The Puritanism of a vigorous minority among the Babylonian Jews rooted out polytheism from all its hiding-places in the theology which they had inherited; they created the first consistent, remorseless, naked monotheism which, so far as history records, appeared in the world (for Zoroastrianism is practically di-theism, and Buddhism any-theism, or no-theism); and they inseparably united therewith an ethical code which, for its purity and for its efficiency as a bond of social life, was and is unsurpassed" (p. 199 f.).

" Again, all that is best in the ethics of the modern world, in so far as it has not grown out of Greek thought or barbarian manhood, is the direct development of the ethics of old Israel. There is no code of legislation, ancient or modern, at once so just and so merciful, so tender to the weak and poor, as the Jewish law; and if the Gospels are to be trusted, Jesus of Nazareth himself declared that he taught nothing but that which lay implicitly or explicitly in the religious and ethical system of his people" (p. 455).

Of course, I perfectly understand that Professor Huxley regards all this as a natural and spontaneous product of the prophets and of other leaders of Israel, for which he would give them full credit; though it is perhaps worth noticing by the way that they themselves would have entirely repudiated such credit. If they had put forward their teaching simply as their own, they would themselves have attached no importance to it, and it would have made no impression. They spoke throughout with the strong conviction that what they said was not their own, but that it was put into their mouth by a Power outside themselves. This conviction of theirs assumes a very remarkable amount of particularity. It is not an isolated experience, but common more or less to all the prophets whose writings have come down to us. It does not seem to take its rise out of mere *naïveté*. It goes along with a good deal of introspection; not that the prophets deliberately set about to analyse their own sensations, but quite incidentally they tell us a number of details about the way in which the peculiar

* "History of Israel and Judah," p. 22.

† Stade, "Gesch. d. Volkes Israel," I. 129.

‡ Dillmann on Ex. xxxii. 4; Robertson Smith in *Contemporary Review*, 1887; and in the main Kuennen, "Religion of Israel," I. 276 ff., though admitting some influence from Egyptian morals and a few details such as urim and thummim.

inspiration of which they were conscious came to them. I know that Professor Huxley would feel that he was able to explain all these phenomena, and that he would set them down to a kind of hallucination. From his standpoint, he cannot do otherwise. And these are not the only phenomena which he would have to describe by some such term, but a great number of other phenomena belonging to the religious life would have practically to come under the same category.

But when we have reached this point, it is impossible to help asking whether the alternative explanation is not possible—whether there may not after all be some better account of these experiences than mere hallucination. Those who start with the hypothesis that there is an active Intelligence, which created and which governs the world, find it easy to bring all this group of phenomena under that hypothesis. And the result is at least a very great convenience in thinking. Professor Huxley and those who go with him seem to have an arduous task before them. Of course they can cut the knot at any moment by saying that they do not understand, and do not care to understand; but if they stop short of this, and once begin a scientific explanation of the phenomena, the formula of hallucination will doubtless carry them some way, but after a time, as the line of facts which have to be brought under it lengthens, they must surely begin to feel that it has a very great deal to bear. Will it stand the strain? No doubt the "law of parsimony" is good. We must not invent hypotheses without a cause. But, on the other hand, it is no less wrong to refuse to admit a hypothesis which really does serve to clear up the process of thinking. And this hypothesis that there is a "living" God is no new one, but is rather so ingrained in the mind of the human race that it is more difficult than we imagine to get rid of it. Does not this go far to prove that the belief is a natural, and if natural also an indefeasible, part of the intellectual outfit of mankind?

Agnosticism, I cannot but think, is not a proper basis for a philosophy. It may come at the end of an exhaustive discussion, but it should not bar the way at the beginning. It is a last desperate remedy when all others have failed; but we may well let it remain at the bottom of the chest until all other remedies have been tried and found wanting.

The more I study some parts of this volume of essays the more I wonder that Pro-

fessor Huxley should have thought it worth his while to write them. This is especially the case with all that large section which turns round the miracle of the Gadarene demoniac. In regard to this, if Professor Huxley had thought well to give us his views on the pathological aspect of the question—if, for instance, he had discussed the cases quoted by Mr. Sadler* from the "Mental Pathology" of Dr. Griesinger—we should have studied what he said with respectful attention. But as it is he seems to throw away all the advantage which is given by his own special knowledge, and to descend on to ground where he is not only not stronger but decidedly weaker than many men who would be far inferior to him in general intellectual force. Strange to say, this seems to have been done quite deliberately:

"I believe that there is not a solitary argument I have used, or that I am about to use, which is original, or has anything to do with the fact that I have been chiefly occupied with natural science. They are all, facts and reasoning alike, either identical with, or consequential upon, propositions which are to be found in the works of scholars and theologians of the highest repute in the only two countries, Holland and Germany, in which, at the present time, professors of theology are to be found whose tenure of their posts does not depend upon the results to which their inquiries lead them" (p. 410).

And again :

"I have been careful to explain that the arguments which I have used in the course of this discussion are not new, that they are historical, and have nothing to do with what is commonly called science, and that they are all, to the best of my belief, to be found in the works of theologians of repute" (p. 468).

It is true that there is something added to this. Professor Huxley has told us many times over, and with much emphasis, that he does not himself believe the demonology of the Gospels or the incidents in which it is involved. Perhaps this was hardly necessary. I suspect that few of his readers would have done him injustice on that score.

There is also another point which has perhaps some novelty, though logically it seems to make much of the rest of the argument superfluous. Professor Huxley has expended a good deal of space on the question of the date and origin of the Gospels, but he takes care to guard himself against being supposed to attach too much importance to this. He will not admit the common assumption that "what contemporary witnesses say must be true, or, at least, has

* In the Appendix to his "Commentary on St. Mark." London, 1884.

always a *prima facie* claim to be so regarded." He believes himself to have proved that "where the miraculous is concerned, neither considerable intellectual ability, nor undoubted honesty, nor knowledge of the world, nor proved piety, on the part of eyewitnesses and contemporaries, affords any guarantee of the objective truth of the statements, when we know that a firm belief in the miraculous was ingrained in their minds, and was the presupposition of their observations and reasonings" (p. 467).

It will be seen that this is really a short and easy method. In fact, to say truth, the argumentation of nearly all that part of the volume with which I am dealing is of this short and easy character—far too much so, I cannot but think, for true science. It would surely have been well if Professor Huxley had kept more in mind a distinction of which he is aware, though he makes but little use of it. "When a man testifies to a miracle, he not only states a fact, but he adds an interpretation of the fact. We may admit his evidence as to the former, and yet think his opinion as to the latter worthless" (p. 402). Most true. But the distinction here so clearly laid down is constantly confused throughout the argument. It ought to have dictated the whole course of the inquiry. The first thing to be done was to ascertain as exactly as possible what were the historical facts. Not until it was known what the facts really were could the further question of their interpretation be approached at all satisfactorily.

But if a serious attempt was to be made to determine the facts, it would have to be upon very different lines from Professor Huxley's. A writer who thinks that he has got a short cut to truth naturally will not take much trouble over more circuitous methods. There is just the same loose writing in the essays which deal with the New Testament as in those which deal with the Old. Thus, in one place we are told that "there is no proof, nothing more than fair presumption, that any one of the Gospels existed in the state in which we find it in the Authorised Version of the Bible, before the second century, or, in other words, sixty or seventy years after the events recorded. And between that time and the date of the oldest extant manuscripts of the Gospel, there is no telling what additions and alterations and interpolations may have been made" (p. 341).* In another place

(p. 490 ff.) we find a general acceptance of a position like M. Renan's, who began by placing the first two Gospels about or before, and the third Gospel not long after, the year 70 A.D.; while at his latest and most advanced stage, he believes our second Gospel to have been written about the year 76, our first Gospel about the year 85, and our third Gospel about the year 94. There is a great difference between dates like these and "not before the second century."

I do not say this because I am content with M. Renan's dates. It may be true that our Gospels in their present form are not demonstrably very much earlier. The *terminus ad quem* of Synoptic composition seems to me to be fixed by our third Gospel, which in its turn is fixed by the date of the Acts; and as I cannot but think that there is still, in spite of all the hypotheses on the subject, a decided preponderance of argument for attributing that work to an actual companion of St. Paul, this date would be nearer 80 than 94 A.D.*

But the important point is less that of the date of our present final redactions of the Gospels than the date when the great bulk of the material which they contain was brought together. I firmly believe myself, and I am convinced that future inquiries will only strengthen the belief, that the original documents worked up in our Gospels cannot be later than the decade 60–70 A.D. Not only does it seem to me that this is the result to which the inquiries of critics, many of them above the suspicion of partiality, are tending, but there is also, I feel sure, a large reserve of detailed argument in the background which has never as yet been set forth systematically, proving that the great mass of the Synoptic narrative must be earlier than the fall of Jerusalem.† It is only by a close and careful

Memphitic or Thebaic), at least older than the oldest MSS., while the Gothic, and perhaps the Ethiopic, are coeval, and the Armenian nearly coeval with them. Then, besides the versions, he has also a multitude of quotations in the Fathers, which prove, at least, the presence in their copies of the sections quoted by them. Under the head of Fathers would be included that remarkable work, the "Diatessaron" of Tatian, of which very considerable remains have now been recovered. (See those collected in a form accessible to the English reader by Professor Hemphill of Dublin: "The Diatessaron of Tatian," London and Dublin, 1888.) Then, further, it must be remembered that in addition to the documents now extant, the critic can infer backwards to the common original of these documents, on the points in which they agree, by taking all this into consideration. It means to run a risky process to assume the existence of any interpolations beyond those for which we have actual evidence. I do not think that they are quite out of the question, but the period of time within which they can have taken place must have been very short indeed.

* I cannot think that the alleged use of Josephus in the third Gospel and the Acts has been at all made good (for authorities, see Holtzmann, "Kleinleitung," p. 374, ed. 3).

† One conspicuous note of time which proves that, if not the whole Gospel precisely as we have it, at least the document which is there being followed must be older than this date is the prediction in Matt. xxiv. 29, "Immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened," &c.

* In this sentence Professor Huxley forgets that the sources of the textual critic are by no means limited to MSS. Besides MSS., he has versions, two of which (the Latin and the Syriac) are probably as old as the second century, and two more (the great Egyptian versions, commonly called the

examination of those features of the narrative which do not raise debatable questions respecting doctrine or the supernatural that a really scientific conclusion can be arrived at.*

Nothing could be further from such a method than Professor Huxley's; he ignores internal indications altogether, unless we are to regard in this light the long excursus into the Church history of the second century of which the upshot at most appears to be that there were controversies in the Apostolic age which may be supposed likely to have left their mark upon the Gospels (p. 488). That, one would have thought, was a consideration which had long ago been estimated at its true value. It seems to be the old Tübingen "Tendenz kritik" revived. But if so, and allowing fully for any elements of truth there may be in that theory, I think it may be said to be understood that it does not materially affect the historical character of the Gospels.

The fact is that Professor Huxley has not even set the problem before his own mind with any sort of precision. Vague and random denunciations and denials are scattered about in profusion; but such things carry the inquirer a very little way in history. History demands a lighter touch and finer shading. Professor Huxley quotes, it is true, Bishop Butler's famous saying about probability being the "guide of life" (p. 345), but his essays show very little appreciation of it. They oscillate between the opposite poles of emphatic assertion and blank rejection. To say that a proposition is not proved in such a way as to compel assent is with him (not always, but far too often) as much as to say that it is altogether false, and to be repudiated.

In regard to the Gadarene demoniac, the

Even in St. Mark xiii. 24, this "immediately" has been dropped. "But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened," &c. The change clearly belongs to the final redaction of the Gospel, and it will not allow even that redaction to be long after the fall of Jerusalem like the "times of the Gentiles" of Luke xxi. 23.

* Let me mention just one or two indications to which I believe that attention has not yet been called, and which if they do not exactly prove anything as to the date of the present recension of the Gospels, at least go some way to prove the freshness and accuracy of the recollections which they embody. One is the repeated use throughout the Gospels of ὁ Χριστός as an appellative in the sense of the Jewish Messiah (Mark viii. 29, xii. 35; xiii. 21, xiv. 61, &c.). Even in St. Paul Χριστός and ὁ Χριστός has become almost a proper name. How soon would the older and truer usage be lost when the Gospel travelled beyond the region in which the Messianic expectation lived and the time at which it was still active? Another striking touch of contemporaneity is the allusion to the "Herodians" in Mark iii. 6, xii. 13; Matt. xxii. 16. This party name occurs nowhere else in literature, and has only a parallel in οἱ τὰ Ἡρῳδίους ἀνθούσαι (Josephus, Ant. xiv. 15. 10). The phrase in Josephus refers to the beginning of the reign of Herod in B.C. 37; and it is not likely that such a dynastic party can have survived long after the death of Herod Agrippa I. in 44 A.D. The delineation of Jewish parties and of the Messianic expectation generally would be among the landmarks of date, as in both respects it could not fail to undergo a change after the catastrophe of 70 A.D.

real case I imagine to be something of this kind. The presence of the section in the first three Gospels proves that it belonged to the oldest stratum of Evangelical tradition. This I think, as I have said, must in all its common features be at least as old as the seventh decade of the Christian era. In other words, it must have been committed to writing within some thirty to forty years of the events. Does it follow that it must have happened precisely as it is described as happening? I do not think it does. There are difficulties about it which Mr. Gladstone's ingenious hypothesis hardly removes. The actual migration of the demons into the swine is not a point which I should venture to assert with confidence. An interval of thirty to forty years would not be too short to preclude the possibility of some colouring of the facts by popular belief. How far this colouring may extend I do not think that we have the data absolutely to determine. But a limit appears to be put to our criticism of the narrative by two considerations besides its date. One is what I conceive to be the practical certainty that miracles like the healing of the Gadarene demoniac did actually happen. Putting aside for the moment the explanation of the fact, the fact itself is too well attested. Not only have we numerous express statements in the oldest of the Synoptic documents (Mark i. 23 ff. = Luke iv. 33, ff.; Mark i. 34 = Matt. viii. 16 = Luke iv. 41; Mark i. 39 = Matt. iv. 24; Mark iii. 11 = Luke viii. 18; Mark vii. 29, 30; cf. Matt. xv. 28; Mark ix. 17 ff. = Matt. xvii. 15 ff. = Luke ix. 39 ff.), but in addition to this we have, what is still better as evidence, incidental allusions in sayings which assume the existence of such cases of healing (Mark iii. 22 ff. = Matt. xii. 24 ff. = Luke xi. 15 ff.; Matt. vii. 22, ix. 34, x. 8; Luke x. 17-20; Mark ix. 38 f. = Luke ix. 49 f.). Further, if there is reason to believe that healings of this kind took place generally, there is specially good reason for believing that one of the instances in question took place at a particular spot on the east of the Sea of Galilee. In two out of the three Gospels the scene of the miracle is described as the "country of the Gerasenes" (the reading "Gergesenes" adopted by some editors in Luke viii. 26, 37, appears due to the influence of Origen). In Matt. viii. 20 this is altered to "Gadarenes." The probability seems to be that the original of all three Gospels had "Gerasenes," but that this was misunderstood by the compilers of our present Gospels, who were not familiar with the

locality and identified "Gerasa" with the more important city of that name in Southern Perea. The first Evangelist alone, making use of a little knowledge, corrected "Gerasenes" to "Gadarenes." There is, however, an appropriate place on the shores of the lake which is to this day called *Khersa*; and Eusebius ("Onomasticon," ed. Lagarde, p. 246 f.), followed by Jerome, says that a place which he calls "Gergesa" was pointed out in his day on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias. To these may be added another mark of authenticity, which is not without weight, the peculiar word *Aryēōv* preserved in two Gospels (Mark v. 9 = Luke viii. 30). It is less likely that this strange introduction of a Latin word (strange, but not impossible, in view of the Roman occupation of Palestine) should be pure invention than that it is a reminiscence of something that actually occurred.

For these reasons I believe, for my own part, that there is a considerable base of truth in the narrative, whatever we are to say to the incident of the swine. A certain margin must be left for reasonable difference of opinion. But when we have got thus far, the question still remains as to the nature of the miracle. Does it necessarily imply the real existence of demons? There we come to a point which it is less easy to determine. A writer like Professor Huxley will dismiss the affirmative view offhand. On the opposite side, there will be others who will dismiss the doubt just as peremptorily. If I were cross-examined about it myself, I should speak with more hesitation. Every critic will find some shots hit him between wind and water; and that is my case here. The man of science tells us that he can account for the phenomena of so-called possession. I should ask him if he can be so sure that he has accounted for all the phenomena. I should call attention to one of Professor Huxley's more conciliatory passages :

"A man may be an Agnostic in the sense of admitting he has no positive knowledge, and yet consider that he has more or less probable knowledge for accepting any given hypothesis about the spiritual world. Just as a man may frankly declare that he has no means of knowing whether the planets generally are inhabited or not, and yet may think one of the two possible hypotheses more likely than the other, so he may admit that he has no means of knowing anything [positively] about the spiritual world; and yet may think one or other of the current views on the subject to some extent probable" (p. 466).

On the whole there seems to be sufficient reason to believe in the existence of a personal power of evil.* And granting the existence of such a power, it is to me credi-

ble that it should be concerned in the phenomena which are set down to possession. Of course it is possible that the Healer placed Himself at the point of view of the persons healed. But the evidence goes to show that He shared the main point in their belief Himself: and so far as He shared it I would share it too.

It will have been seen that I have little approval to give to Professor Huxley's treatment of history. History requires a certain flexibility of mind, and some power of sympathising with habits of thought or feeling that are different from the writer's own. The past needs to be regarded at least with equanimity. It is safe to say that the historian who is always denouncing, does not and cannot understand. In Professor Huxley's case, the strange thing appears to be that no shade of misgiving ever seems to cross his mind that any important elements can have been omitted in his judgments. Instead of following the excellent rule that nothing which has ever moved great masses of men can be wholly without reason, he adopts the simpler but more precarious principle that his own likes and dislikes are the measure of all things, and that anything in which he can see no good must be absolutely condemnable.*

Professor Huxley has but one standpoint —the standpoint of the modern man of science. He is not only modern, but aggressively and intolerantly modern. His very language admits of no mean. If two narratives differ they are "hopelessly discrepant" (p. 179 as well as p. 424); an error must needs be "prodigious," a divergence "violent," a fiction "monstrous and mischievous." Rhetorical ornament is disclaimed (p. 219), and yet not only are there passages of repellent and glaring rhetoric (pp. 179, 205, 206, 312, 411, 456), but the whole spirit of the book is essentially rhetorical, exaggerated, declamatory.

If we wish to see Professor Huxley at his best we should turn to the famous lecture "On a Piece of Chalk," which is a model of picturesque and lucid exposition. In his more philosophical essays, even where they are polemical, there is often at least the merit of clear and vigorous presentation. But in the treatment of history the polemical interest seems to swallow up everything, and is peculiarly disastrous. It is surprising to find a leader in science so

critic of the Gospels in "The Kernel and the Husk," pp. 80-96.

* One of the worst examples of this occurs on p. 411, where a prominent movement in our own day is stigmatised as merely "an effete and idolatrous sacerdotalism." The real principle at stake, that of historical continuity, is not a small matter. But this is wholly ignored.

* There is a striking chapter on this subject by a very free

little scientific. He seems to be incapable of seeing more than a single set of causes at work, and those causes seldom bear a less commonplace label than that of ignorance and superstition.*

I cannot forbear giving one example of the treatment of a memorable incident in Church history—the conversion of St. Paul. Professor Huxley wishes to discredit St. Paul as a witness, and he does it thus :

"According to his own showing, Paul, in the vigour of his manhood, with every means of becoming acquainted, at first hand, with the evidence of eye-witnesses, not merely refused to credit them, but persecuted the Church of God, and made havoc of it . . . Yet this strange man, because he has a vision, one day, at once, and with equally headlong zeal, flies to the opposite pole of opinion. And he is most careful to tell us that he abstained from any re-examination of the facts : 'Immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood ; neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were Apostles before me : but I went away into Arabia' (Galatians i. 16, 17). I do not presume to quarrel with Paul's procedure. If it satisfied him, that was his affair," &c. (p. 424 f.).

Surely all this is exceedingly crude. A brief and summary sketch like the Acts naturally represents the conversion of the Apostle as sudden. So it must doubtless have appeared to those who saw it only from the outside ; and so too many another so-called conversion must appear to those who do not know the secret of it. But psychological analysis leads us to question whether changes of this kind are really quite so sudden as they seem. The train is laid long before the spark is applied to it. Some outward circumstance brings the crisis to a head, but it has been preparing for some time in corners of the brain, of the working of which the man himself may be hardly conscious. All that elaborate self-criticism which we find in the Epistles, all that searching analysis of law and circumcision and outward mechanical obedience, with the demonstration of their inability to produce a real state of righteousness—must we necessarily suppose this altogether subsequent to the conversion ? Is it not perfectly legitimate to throw back some of these misgivings to the time before the journey to Damascus ? Must not the zeal of the persecutor have constantly brought him into contact with Christians who alleged that their Master, though dead, was risen ? And would not each instance of this assertion make a deeper and deeper impression upon him ? Most people, when a great

change comes over them, refuse to admit the change until they can hold out no longer ; then their defences all collapse at once. So was it, we may well believe, with St. Paul. When his own vision came on the top of so many circumstantial affirmations, there was no help for it ; he could only surrender at discretion. How far the express statements of 1 Cor. xv. 5-7 were based on knowledge obtained before or after the conversion, we have no means of knowing with any certainty. But it is clear enough from the deliberate and solemn way in which the statements are made that at some time of his life St. Paul did inquire pretty closely into them. In any case, Professor Huxley's sweeping negations are not justified. He will say that I, in my turn, have no means of verifying the hypothetical biography just presented. True, it is hypothetical. The warrant for it is that the construction in which it results is natural and probable. History consists in building up such constructions. But if there is to be such a thing as history at all, a little more patience and a little more penetrating and sympathetic study must go to it than we have any trace of in this volume of Professor Huxley's.

I do not doubt that Professor Huxley himself is only in part to blame. He is repaying to theology the same sort of measure which five-and-twenty years and more ago theology dealt out to him. But controversial methods of this kind are happily becoming an anachronism.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE EARLIER VISIONS OF ISAIAH.

BY REV. F. TILNEY BASSETT, M.A., PREBENDARY OF WELLS AND VICAR OF DULVERTON.

From *The Thinker* (London), September, 1892.

IT is well known that many modern scholars consider the book that goes by the name of Isaiah to be the product of different pens. Some content themselves with dividing the work into two parts, making the point of separation at the fortieth chapter. Others distribute various portions to various authors. The main reason that underlies this theory of dismemberment is based upon the foregone conclusion that prediction of minute particulars is impossible, and hence that the exact account given of the fall of Babylon and the restoration of the Jewish people under Cyrus must have been written after those facts had become history. The linguistic argument to confirm this theory was an afterthought, and is growing to be

* Look, for instance, at the survey of Christian history on page 206. What could be more shallow ? There is no attempt to discriminate between the proper developments of Christianity and the survival of barbarism in the backward races which succeeded to the heritage of the Roman Empire ; and there is equally little attempt to estimate the high and pure devotion to the cause of humanity which Christianity certainly generated.

abandoned by the best scholars, as no valid results have been obtained. Internal evidence has been appealed to, but the estimate of individual minds depends so much upon the subjectivity of the critic, that unless positive facts are enunciated we are led into the dreamland of fancy, rather than inside the vestibule of certainty and truth. Some very strange and unworthy mistakes have been made also in this branch of the controversy, hence the arguments derived from this source are often nugatory and worthless.

But a "stone of stumbling" has been found in the path of progress—the thirteenth chapter, in the very centre of that portion of the work which is universally admitted to be from the pen of Isaiah, predicts the same impending ruin of Babylon. It is almost past credence that the modern critics, falling against this "rock of offence," declare their conviction that this passage must have been detached from its proper connection, and been interpolated here at a later date. Such a mode of dealing with evidence is mere trifling.

To support the suggestion that the component parts of this book have been subject to dislocations, and that this transference of passages is of ordinary and frequency occurrence, it has been asserted that the whole of the introduction, chapters i.—v. inclusive, is a prophecy or cluster of prophecies which Isaiah received and delivered at some period or periods after his call to the prophetic office, which call took place, according to chap. vi., in the year that Uzziah died. The vision described in this chapter, it is urged, was the first that Isaiah experienced, and therefore the preceding portion, though standing first in place, must be posterior in chronological arrangement. All that can be said to this is that the case is possible, but not at all probable; and further, that there are grave critical reasons for doubting, and good grounds for rejecting, such a theory altogether.

The first chapter begins with the statement—"The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he *saw*;" and the second chapter is introduced with—"The word or matter **רָאָה** which Isaiah *saw*"; the verb is the same. Attention does not seem to have been directed to the fact that when in the narration of prophetic visions this verb is used, it always signifies the beholding of a group of objects or combination of circumstances which forms a scene in which certain events are portrayed and printed on the mental eye of the beholder; but there is no instance in the prophetic writings in which this verb is used in connection with a sight

of the Divine Being. When a manifestation of God Himself is granted to the seer, the verb **רָאָה** is found. Thus in chap. vi. 1 we read, **וְיָמַרְתָּ לִפְנֵי רְאֵבָן**, "I saw the Lord," and in ver. 5, "For mine eyes have seen **אֱלֹהִים** the **לֹדוֹת** of hosts!" Even in non-prophetic portions the same rule seems to be observed, the only exceptions are partial, such as Exod. xxiv. 11, where it is said that the elders "saw **אֱלֹהִים** God, and did eat and drink," but even here in the preceding verse where the sight of the Divine Majesty is introduced, the verb **רָאָה** is the one employed, and this is added as a general description of the vision. In Job xix. 27 both words are likewise used in combination; and Numb. xxiv. 4 and 16 do not apply, as the "vision of the Almighty" does not signify a sight of God, but a vision granted by Him of things that should be. Remembering this usage, which I believe to be a critical proof of a distinction between the application of these two verbs, as any Hebrew Concordance will show, it will follow that the first revelations made to the prophet concerned the sins and ingratitude of the nation, the consequent impending judgments, the after restoration and prosperity of the people, and such like; but all that the prophet *saw* was a diorama of facts and events, a land now desolated, now cultivated and productive, and of a people punished and pardoned; but there had been no visible manifestation of God as yet vouchsafed to the prophet's eye. This was the primary stage therefore, perhaps we might term it the pupillage of his calling; but when the great roll of Messianic prophecy was to be unfolded (chaps. vii. 10—ix. 7), and the prophet was to receive the full light of revelation, then the Divine Majesty unveiled His glory, and brought His servant, the Seer, inside the shrine of the heavenly temple, that he might be initiated in the mysteries of redemption and equipped for his office of the evangelical prophet by a personal manifestation of God. The change of the verb denotes the promotion from the lower to the higher platform, from the vision of *things* seen to the sight of *Him* that was to come and fulfil all things, for "these things said Esaias when he saw His glory, and spake of Him" (John xii. 41). There has been, therefore, no misplacement of sections, or chapters, or verses, but the oracles are arranged in the order in which they were imparted and received as the prophet grew in grace and receptivity of the things of God; there is no retrogression from the noon to the morning dawn, but the progress of the dawn unto the perfect day.

THE GREAT PHILANTHROPIES OF ENGLAND.

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.

From *The Review of the Churches* (London).

II.

DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES.

It is my object in this and following papers to write such an account of some of our great national charities as may, by God's blessing, attract to them the attention of those to whom they are as yet only known in name, and by whom they are left to struggle on without assistance. Besides those who are altogether selfish and callous, I believe that there are still myriads in this country who may be described in the words of Coleridge as

"The sluggard Pity's vision-weaving tribe,
Who sigh for wretchedness, yet shun the wretched,
Nursing in some delicious solitude
Their dainty loves and slothful sympathies."

If we can lend but little practical aid in the immense and ever pressing task of ameliorating the condition of the world, and helping to atone for its intolerable wrongs, there is one way in which, with scarcely even the semblance of self-denial, we might render indispensable assistance. How many are there of the wealthy who give in adequate proportion to their means? How many millionaires echo the daily prayer inscribed on the temporary resting-place of George Peabody, that he might be enabled to show his gratitude to God for the blessings bestowed on him by rendering some great service to his fellow-men? If we are tempted to take a self-deceiving and optimistic view of the way in which, as a nation, we fulfil the duty of almsgiving, I know not by what sophistry we resist the refutation of facts. Individuals no doubt give nobly. Their names—the names of a few out of a multitude—are familiar to us from their known generosity; but conspicuous by their absence are the names of many who have made colossal fortunes in trade or business;—of many a man who, himself surrounded by the boundless superfluities of luxury, makes his heart cold as ice and hard as stone to the appeals of suffering humanity;—of many a man who, while he is absorbed in the determination to leave enormous fortunes to each of his children, has "so many claims" that he satisfies his conscience by impartially refusing all of them alike. Set

side by side the statistics of wealth in this country and the statistics of charity, leaving however wide a margin for such as is unascertainable,—and the most careless will be struck by the startling disproportion. Do the charities of England represent a fiftieth, or even a hundredth, part of what she earns? How much do the millionaires at the one end of the scale do for the paupers at the other? Of that stupendous increase, by leaps and bounds, of the wealth of England—greater in this century than in all the previous centuries put together since England was a nation—what proportion has gone to the work of God and the furtherance of the Kingdom of Christ?

The first charity of which I will give some account is that varied work of beneficence which is associated, and to a great extent identified with the name of Thomas James Barnardo. To enter fully into all its details, and even briefly to describe its forty-one institutions, would require a book and not an article; but I will endeavour to indicate the main features of a single branch of that work—the rescue of children, boys, and youths—and the great lines on which it is carried out.

Its distinctive and most blessed feature is this, that it is work for the rescue of the young,—work undertaken in response to the bitter cry of outcast children.

"Do ye hear the children weeping, oh my brothers,
Weeping ere the sorrow comes with years?
They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,

And that cannot stop their tears.

The young lambs are bleating in the meadows;
The young birds are chirping in the nest;
The growing fawns are playing with the shadows;

The young flowers are blowing towards the west;

But the young, young children, oh my brothers,

They are weeping bitterly;

They are weeping in the playtime of the others

In the country of the free!"

In that "cry of the children" to which she gave such pathetic expression in her poem, Mrs. Barrett Browning referred only to those who work in the factories; just as William Blake in his "Songs of Innocence,"



A PARCEL FROM THE COUNTRY.

in tones which trembled with divinest pity, had given utterance to the woes of the little climbing boys. But these are but a fraction of the children whose souls and bodies are offered up in hideous holocaust to the Mammon and Moloch elements of our modern civilisation. Thirty years ago our Poet Laureate, describing the poisonous stagnations of selfish and unbroken peace, spoke of the days

" When a Mammonite mother slays her babe for a burial fee,
And Timour-Mammon grins on a pile of children's bones."

Yet it is but now that any attempt is being made to cure by legislation the crime of infanticide, which statistics prove too fatally to have resulted from infant assurance; and we have not yet summoned up sufficient courage or wisdom as a nation to grapple with that horrible master curse of drink, which, year by year, is the cause why such multitudes of children are overlaid by drunken mothers, and die off like flies in the foul lairs and from the contaminated heredity of drunken parents. And the society which, thanks to the untiring energy and patience of the Rev. Benjamin Waugh, is now beginning to show to fiend-like parents that they cannot with impunity wreak their brutalities on their defenceless children, is a society of very recent origin. The work of Dr. Barnardo is different. His aim is to save the living child, rather than to prevent it from being murdered; and to rescue it from vice, squalor, degra-

dation, felony, harlotry, and nameless forms of moral and physical destruction, that he may—so far as the fraud or malice of the devil or man shall render possible—transform it into a profitable member of the Church and Commonwealth now, and hereafter into a partaker of the immortal glory of the Resurrection.

There is scarcely one fruitful work of philanthropy which has not grown up from causes which man might describe as accidental, but which the Christian knows to be that unseen providence of God "by men nicknamed Chance." A resolution formed when he was yet a youth, in one hour of solemn self-consecration after writing a Latin prize essay on the slave trade, decided the destiny of Thomas Clarkson. The career of William Wilberforce began with a letter which he wrote as a schoolboy to a Yorkshire newspaper. Granville Sharp was made a pioneer of the cause of Emancipation by pity for the fugitive slave Somerset. Prisons would never have been reformed if John Howard, when he was Sheriff of Bedfordshire, had not been called upon officially to notice the abuses prevalent in Bedford jail. The indignation caused by the levity shown at one pauper funeral, seen by him



FROM THE SLUMS OF WHITECHAPEL: JUST RESCUED.

when he was a schoolboy on Harrow Hill, determined the life-work of Lord Shaftesbury. The Regent Street Polytechnic, to which, with such beautiful results, Mr. Quintin Hogg devoted his energies and his fortune, grew up from a small Bible Class of poor lads in a back lane off Long Acre. The glorious crusade of Father Mathew sprang from the remark made to him by a Quaker friend, after noticing the devastation caused by drink in the wards of Belfast Hospital. John Gough was redeemed from delirium tremens into the apostolate of Temperance by the compassionate remon-

Great charities are not created, they grow. It is impossible for a committee or an organisation to say all at once, "Go to, we will save Society." The wrongs of civilisation can never be remedied by one great *rump de main*. The regeneration of mankind in any one direction has always begun with individuals. The sorrows of the many have touched the feelings of one, and the one "has become magnetic," to flash into the hearts of his countless brethren the electric thrill of Divine compassion. If we are to further the cause of charity, we must, above all things, be careful not to "quench



TYPES OF STREET RESCUE. (*From Photographs.*)

strance of a poor pot-house waiter. The fire of love to God and to man which was kindled in the heart of William Booth while he was yet an unknown boy in the lower classes, and which continued to burn after he had become an obscure, penniless, unfriended Dissenting minister—a minister in a community of but small social influence, and even in that community looked on with suspicion, and more than half disowned;—the ardour, the joy, which God had caused to burn in that single heart, has flamed out in the manifold enthusiasm of the Salvation Army, not only in England, Ireland, and Scotland, but from Nordköping to San Francisco, and from India to Peking.

the Spirit" and not to "despise the day of small things."

The work on which we shall here touch has had a similar origin.

Twenty-five years ago, in the winter of 1866, a young medical student was learning his profession at the London Hospital. Busy though he was in the wards, and in the dissecting-room, and in highly-necessary evening studies, he must, even in this his early youth, have had in him very genuine feelings of piety and of human tenderness, for he devoted two evenings in the week and the whole of Sunday to the thankless, and often unsavoury, task of teaching in an East-End Ragged School in squalid Step-

ney. At that time the Ragged School Movement was far more necessary than now it is, and those poor neighbourhoods presented scenes of dirt and turbulence of which, in these milder days, we have but a faint conception. It might seem no great matter to teach in a ragged school, although the children were usually dirty, vicious, and repellent, and although only to enter the room required a decided mortification of the sense of smell. Yet it is by the rarity of such seemingly small instances of self-sacrifice that we must estimate their preciousness. We know what the lives of young

to make their poorer brethren a little happier? The youth who is willing to do this is exactly the sort of youth who is likely to be blessed by being called to do greater things than these. Good work is rewarded by the call to better and greater work. To him that hath is given. Faithful in small things, he is given rule over ten cities.

This young medical student, having in his heart the love of God, and the desire to benefit to the utmost his fellow-men, had intended to devote himself to the work of a medical missionary in China. But "man proposes and God disposes," and in the



A PEEP INTO A WARD OF BABIES' CASTLE, HAWKHURST.

men, and of young medical students, often are. There are thousands of young men—and not only among the gilded youth—who think it quite beneath their greatness, and quite too extravagant a demand upon their self-denial, to give up any part of the Sunday even to attending Church, much more to teaching or any good work. How many officers of Engineers are there who, like General Gordon, have ever dreamed of devoting their spare time to looking after waifs and strays? How many young medical students in London, at this moment, are giving up one single hour of their time, outside of the routine of their profession,

purposes of Him who guides our lives there was other work for him to do.

One night, as young Barnardo was putting out the gas in the dingy and dilapidated donkey-shed which he and his fellow students had "rigged up" into their poor little school, he noticed a small ragged lad standing by the large fire at the end of the room, who had listened quietly during the evening, but showed no symptoms of retiring with the rest. Let me tell the rest of the story in his own words, for they may rank hereafter among the memorable moments in the history of English charity.

"Come, my lad," I said to him, "it's time for you to go home."

"Please, sir," slowly drawled the lad, "let me stop."

"Stop? What do you want to stop for?"

"Please, sir," he repeated, "do let me stop; I won't do no 'arm."

"Why do you wish to remain? Your mother will know the other boys have gone, and will wonder what keeps you so late."

"I ain't got no mother."

"But—your father? Where is he?"

"I ain't got no father."

"Stuff and nonsense, boy; don't tell me such stories! Where are your friends, then? Where do you live?"

"Ain't got no friends. DON'T LIVE NOWHERE."

These words determined the life-work of Dr. Barnardo. Up to that time he had not known that there existed in great cities a class of homeless boys, and he determined to sift the question to the bottom. He found that the boy—his name was James Jervis—was, as he had said, fatherless, motherless, friendless, homeless; that he had slept the night before in a cart in Whitechapel, and been told by "a chap he know'd" that perhaps, on this raw winter night, he would be allowed to sleep on the hearth before the fire in the Ragged School, to shelter him from the bitter east wind. Barnardo had imagination enough to realise what suffering was involved in destitution, cold, hunger, exposure, on such nights as those. He gave the boy food, which he devoured with ravenous eagerness, and then learnt his far from uncommon history. He was an orphan, had run away from a workhouse infirmary, and had worked for a lighterman named "Swearin' Dick," who starved and "knocked him about frightful," and made him believe that, if ever he ran away, he would be smelt out by his ferocious dog—the marks of whose teeth the boy showed under his rags. This man after a time disappeared, and the lad took to the life of the streets, suffering terribly from cold and starvation. The young medical student began to talk to him about religious matters, and asked if he knew "who Jesus was." "Yes," said the boy, with perfect good faith, "*He's the Pope o' Rome!*" Barnardo told the poor ignorant Arab about the Good Shepherd, knelt down and prayed with him, and after midnight made him prove the truth of his assertion that there were in London multitudes of homeless boys like himself. "Jim" took him to a dead wall on which rested the roof

of an iron shed, and over the ironwork showed him eleven boys, of various ages, from eighteen to nine, huddled together in their rags, and all asleep.

"*Segnus irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam que sint oculis submissa fidelibus, et
que
Ipse sibi tradit spectator.*"

The sight which he had seen that night became the *motif*, the impulse, the stimulus which has moulded the remaining life of Dr. Barnardo. Himself unknown and friendless, he asked God that he might be suffered to do something for these children: and how abundantly—because it was sincere—has that prayer been answered!

He began in a very small way with a poor house, repaired by himself and his fellow-students, in a mean street, in which he sheltered the first twenty-five miserable and homeless boys, whom in two whole nights he had gathered from the cruel streets. That was his first family of the destitute, which at this moment numbers some 3,300 boys and girls, and which during twenty-five years has reached the astonishing and daily growing number of more than 17,000. That was the humble parent institution of more than forty-one large and flourishing agencies, for the present and eternal salvation of the friendless and the outcast.

It was only last year that I began to have any practical knowledge of Dr. Barnardo and his work. I had not indeed wholly neglected the duty of showing sympathy with Christian endeavours to save and protect the young. But I had till last year been not only ignorant of Dr. Barnardo's work, but even entertained respecting it that sort of vague prejudice which is fostered against many charities and many men by those who—perhaps half unconsciously—wish for an excuse for not lifting a finger to help them. It was not until I went to the Exeter Hall meeting of last year to bid farewell to some 200 young Canadian emigrants, that I began to realise how divinely blessed a work was going on in the midst of us. During a great part of that meeting my voice was almost choked with tears, as I gazed on those rescued hundreds of little ones for whom Christ died, and I doubted whether I should be able to make the speech which I had been asked to deliver. What I had there seen was confirmed by what I further witnessed at the Albert Hall, where the present scope of Dr. Barnardo's work was illustrated in a sort of living picture. The children sang their songs; the boys' brass bands, in their neat and effective uniforms, gave us sonorous proofs of their

training and skill. We saw how the girl laundresses work in the pretty Ilford cottages; the young bakers, blacksmiths, box-makers, carpenters, engineers, harness-makers, mat-makers, brush-makers, printers, shoemakers, tailors, tinsmiths, wheelwrights, wood-choppers, and manufacturers of aerated mineral waters—each in the work-a-day dress of their honest labours—marched in procession before us, after showing us a specimen of their handicraft and of the manner in which it is carried on. There was even a procession of the blind, the cripples and deformed, and this might well have been deemed painful, if the happy and even radiant faces of these poor little afflicted boys and girls had not contrasted with the tears which were raining down the faces of many of the spectators. One little deformed girl presented a beautiful bouquet to Mrs. Sheppard, who sat at the right of the Marquis of Lorne. There was not the least *mauvaise honte*, not the least self-consciousness about her; she was evidently a very sweet and merry child, and I saw her and recognised her bright smiling face at Ilford six months afterwards. Every care is taken of the welfare of these 3,000 children. In the Stepney house, at which there are some 400 boys about the age of fifteen, there is a fire-escape which can be used on every storey by doors which open simultaneously. We were shown at the Albert Hall an alarm of "Fire," and how the boys can be at once saved in the escape from the top of a lofty building; while one boy—who was supposed to have broken his arm in the descent—was promptly carried off and tended in first-rate style by the boys' ambulance corps. At one end of the scale we saw how the little mothers tend the infants of "Babies' Castle;" at the other a band of fine young emigrants, the least of whom looked as if he could eat and fell an ox, marched past, equipped for their journey to the emigrant ship in Liverpool docks on the morrow. Numbers of those who had once been at the Homes, and are now postmen, soldiers, clerks, mechanics, or servants, and had distinguished themselves by long years of good record, came forward to receive prizes or medals. And that we might judge of the raw material from which the finished articles were produced we saw, in their native rags, the children and youths who had that very day made application for admission. Seeing is believing, and no one who was present at the "Silver Jubilee" of the Homes could any longer be sceptical as to the good they do. Still less can any shadow of doubt remain in the mind of any

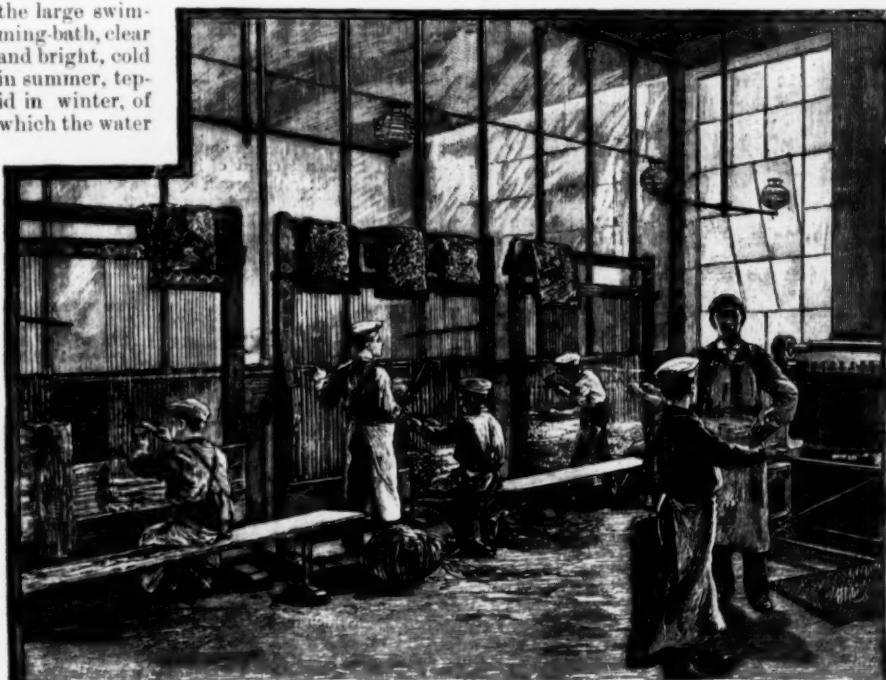
one who will go to Stepney and Ilford, and see with his own eyes something of what is attempted and of what is done.

Hundreds of boys, and girls, and youths, rescued many of them from orphanhood and horrible surroundings, and every one of them possessing the necessary qualifications of destitution, cannot be treated by illusion. At Stepney and the other Homes, they may be seen at every stage of their career. Nor are they only the healthy and the physically sound. This is one difference between Dr. Barnardo's Homes and the Gordon Boys' Home, of which, however, the work, though analogous, is on a much smaller scale. At that Home no boy is admitted who is diseased or physically unsound. Dr. Barnardo admits freely the halt, the maimed, the blind, and the lame. Among his many children he has the crippled, the deaf-mute, and the hopelessly deformed. Many have come to him at various ages, who, at the time of admission, have been terribly afflicted with skin diseases. It would have been impossible to receive them if every home had not been also provided with a Hospital, served by Dr. Barnardo himself, and by trained sisters and medical men, in which the immediate necessities of these unhappy ones are first attended to, until they are cured, and able to mingle with the rest. At the Labour Home for youths, I spoke to a fine lad, whom I found to be so hopeless a stammerer that it was only by the greatest effort that he could get out an answer to the simplest question. Such a youth is fatally handicapped in the struggling race of life. But Dr. Barnardo is training him for emigration to Canada, and when he is working on the vast acres of the farm in Manitoba, his stammering, even if he is not cured of it, will not matter very much. It has been felt in the work of this blessed charity that those whose appeal for pity is most irresistible are exactly those whose case is the most grievous, and to whom, except in unappreciable numbers, scarcely any other charity is able or willing to open its gates.

On August 21st I drove to Stepney Causeway to try and judge for myself. It is a little, narrow street, leading out of the broad Commercial Road. The Home has grown from one poor tenement into a large school. After waiting for the Founder in a room full of things sent for sale by friends of the Institution, I went first into all the workshops. It was a delight to see those healthy looking English lads—400 of them—in room after room, working at the varied trades which they are being taught, from

printing to tailoring, and from brushmaking to baking. They were all diligent ; all greeted us with a smile and a salutation ; for each of them as he passed the Doctor had a handshake, or a cheery word, or a kind recognition. Then I went to see their dormitories, where, in rooms exquisitely fresh, airy, and clean, a hundred boys, under their monitors, and commanded by the eye of the managers, sleep at night. Everything was neat and tidy ; everything was in its place ; there are no servants needed ; everything is done by the boys themselves. Then I went to the large swimming-bath, clear and bright, cold in summer, tepid in winter, of which the water

saved from the shipwrecks of humanity, are not better off than the boys in our great, luxurious—and ever more-and-more luxurious -Public Schools." I remarked how different was all this from the lives of wretchedness with which these boys had been hitherto familiar. Yes ! but things are possible, and even essential, in an institution where so many are crowded together, which would be impossible in any family, and among the poor. These boys have to be trained in respectability ; in the sense of what decency and comfort are. The knowl-



MATMAKERS' SHOP AT STEPNEY.

is constantly changed. Then to the lavatories, where, amid their long hours of teaching and labour, the boys wash to the waist three times a day, and where the bathing troughs are of glass, which retains no impurities. Then to the basement dining-room, brightened by white tiles—the free gift of parents, who gave the tiling in memorial of a lost son. Then to the reading-room with all its books ; and to the stores ; and to the kitchens ; and to the engine, which turns the wheels ; until I was inclined to say, " Rough as it all is, plain as it all is, I doubt whether there are not some respects in which these waifs,

edge that cleanliness is next to godliness, the experience of what, under very simple conditions, the life of a human being can and should be, is in itself a moral and political education. These lads from the gutter and the slum are even entrusted with pocket money. It is right that this should be so, for their work has a monetary value. It is piece-work, of which a return is daily made, so that merit and diligence cannot fail of their natural reward. This is in itself a lesson, and a valuable one. It shows a boy the blessing and happiness of thrift and independence. It shows him the truth of the

law that "the hand of the diligent maketh rich." The pocket money varies from a halfpenny a week to a shilling a week. When it reaches 2d. a week, boys have to lay by half of it in a bank, and very often of free choice they lay by the whole of it. Thus they are taught self-control; they learn to handle money without wasting it, and the knowledge that they can earn it inspires them with confidence. The lad who thus

" Looks the whole world in the face,
For he owes not any man,"

is happier and better than any schoolboy or

word ORDER. In a degree absolutely beautiful, everything is in its proper place, showing the control of a master-mind in organisation. Take one instance. Every boy has three suits of clothes—I do not speak of the rags in which they come: they are immediately burnt. One of these is the rough working suit; the other is a better suit to wear when work is done: the third is a sort of "Sunday best." These two last are uniforms, and how neat and suitable they are shown by the imitation of them, which is the sincerest flattery; for the design has been borrowed by Government for their



BLACKSMITHS' SHOP AT STEPNEY.

undergraduate who runs into selfish debts, which he leaves to be paid, often by parents who can little bear the extra burden.

A stranger might well be astonished at the smoothness with which the immense machine seems to work. There are 400 boys, all in one building, in one narrow London street, in one squalid district, happy, healthy, clean, employed at all sorts of occupations, yet there is no creaking in the multiplex machinery. What is the secret of this? It is contained in the one

postmen and telegraph boys. Now all the 400 boys can change their dress from second-best to best in a quarter of an hour. There is a narrow room, full of pigeon holes, each containing the suits neatly wrapped up. Thus they can all be overhauled for repairs daily, and they wear well because "a stitch in time saves nine." The boys are marched in, in single file. Each boy, as he passes, takes and leaves a suit. The same method prevails throughout. One store-room is full of the dresses to fit out,

at a moment's notice, any of the Ilford girls. In another is the complete kit of the youthful emigrants. Nothing is wasted ; nothing is overlooked ; nothing is mislaid. Where flurry and carelessness would be fatal, here, as in the best-regulated homes, "order is heaven's first law."

A second question rises in the mind of one who, like myself, has been familiar for many years with great English public schools, and who knows the deteriorating elements of moral disorder which may prevail in them. The most careful vigilance and the most earnestly religious influences will not always suffice to avert the introduction, or to eradicate the traditions of these evils. What must be the moral condition of 400 boys, gathered many of them from the gutter and the slum, many of them the children of drunken and vicious parents, all of them snatched from destitution, none of them unfamiliar with the language, the sights, the sounds of pauper and degraded neighbourhoods ? The answer is that, in spite of these awful conditions, by the blessing of Heaven upon the faithfulness of men, the tone of morality seems to be exceptionally healthy. What is the secret of this ? I will speak of it fully, for it is a subject of national importance, and a subject which for the sake even of all the great Public Schools of England we may well lay nationally to heart. There is not one secret of it, but many. They are, *first*, absolute publicity of life, so that boys can never herd or lurk about in twos or threes, but always live in the full light of common day. There is no privacy ; there is remarkable freedom, but there are no cubicles ; there are no corners ; there is no eluding the public eye of authority and companionship. *Next*, the rules, if most beneficent, are yet absolute, so that any serious offence is at once visited with corporal punishment or immediate expulsion. *Thirdly*, there is simplicity. The food is very plain—predominantly farinaceous—which does not stimulate the passions and heat the blood by condiments and delicacies, and, above all, by habitual over-feeding. *Fourthly*, there is large experience in the teachers, and especially in the Founder and his medical staff, which instantly knows when and where to suspect the existence of moral danger, and which by skilled scrutiny into the past conditions of life, and the present physical state, knows the best methods to be applied in individual cases. *Fifthly*, there is a public spirit, founded on generous confidence, but maintained by strenuous authority. The boys have learnt the necessity of furthering the efforts made to

save them from destruction. *Sixthly*,—and this is a sovereign preservative—there is hard, continuous manual labour for many hours of every day. This is the chief underlying word of safety ; this is one great secret of purity of youthful life. Idleness and luxury, the two prolific mothers of moral mischief, are resolutely excluded, and the boys are too healthily tired, and too simply fed, and too familiar with cold water and plain food, to have much time or inclination for the indulging of the incentives to vice. But *seventhly*, and most of all, the work is fundamentally religious. If it were not religious, those who have started and who continue it, would care but little for it. They are working, as absolutely and avowedly as General Booth is working, for God and for Christ. Dr. Barnardo, in his forty-one institutions has under him a staff of not fewer perhaps than 500 men and women, and his first and supreme desire for every officer, male and female, who has any direct contact with human souls, is that they should be Christian men and Christian women. And this, in fact, constitutes the chief difficulty of his undertakings. It is often hard enough to get money, but it is harder still to get human agents of adequate earnestness and character. This, however, is his endeavour, and his moral success with this multitude of lads is, he considers, mainly owing to the fact that those who work for him are chosen in the belief that they will work for, and in the spirit of, their Master, Christ.

Before I leave the Stepney Home two more scenes have to be visited—the Hospital and the Photograph Room.

A hospital would, of course, in any case be needful where such a multitude of human beings have to be cared for, at ages when epidemics are most certain. It is still more so when children have to be received, from babyhood up to youth, many of them predisposed to disease by hereditary conditions, or past hardship and ill-feeding. No destitute child is refused, and—as an unique feature of these charities—sickly children are specially searched for, who are often rescued from the criminal and the depraved. There are children who come to these Homes almost expressly to die, yet such is the skill and love with which they are treated that even under these conditions the mortality does not exceed the normal rate. It is 14.24 per cent.

In the photographic room I was shown a few out of many thousands of photographs. Some were photographs of the children, boys and youths, of the various Homes in

groups ; some of parties of young emigrants just as they are starting ; some of the workers in the farm at Manitoba. But the most interesting are the individual photographs—one of each boy or girl when first received into the Homes, one when they leave them. The difference not only in dress and general appearance, but in face and expression, is in many instances amazing. Some of these poor arabs and neglected girls have, in the worst cases, been so cruelly treated that they are like wild creatures taken in traps, full of terror, slyness, and mistrust—expecting that every movement or gesture means for them a savage beating. A little girl of six used to spit and shriek " You devil, you devil !" when any one approached her. The difference between the faces of such children as they are first photographed in their dirt, and squalor, and almost demoniac possession, and the same children—the same, yet not the same—when, after a few years of the training of love, they appear sitting and clothed and in their right mind, is itself a glorious testimony to the work of this great charity. As I saw masses of the girls and lads together—especially of those who had come *young* to the Homes—I was struck by the cheerfulness, the goodness, the *wholesomeness* in the faces of many of them, even when their features were common, homely, even plebeian in their ordinariness ; but not a few of them are good-looking, and a few are even handsome, beautiful, or refined. Yet to not a few of them, when first they enter, we should have to apply the language of Aurora Leigh—

" Faces ? oh my God !
We call those faces ? men's and women's—ay,
And children's ; babies, hanging like a rag
Forgotten on their mother's neck : poor mouths
Wiped clean of mother's milk by mother's blow
Before they are taught her cursing. Faces ? phew !
We'll call them vices festering to despairs
Or sorrows petrifying to vices : not
A finger-touch of God left whole on them."

It is only possible, in this paper, to allude to one fraction of Dr. Barnardo's work, and I have such little space at my disposal that I must hurry over this. From Stepney Causeway I went to Leopold Home for younger boys, up to the age of ten or eleven. It is an intermediate step to the older department, and here the little lads are mainly employed in learning. I saw the boys being taught to the number of some 340. They seemed to be under the kindest yet the most perfect control, though some of the staff of teachers were away taking their short holiday. The bright little fellows responded to a discipline (and this is a most wholesome element) almost military in its

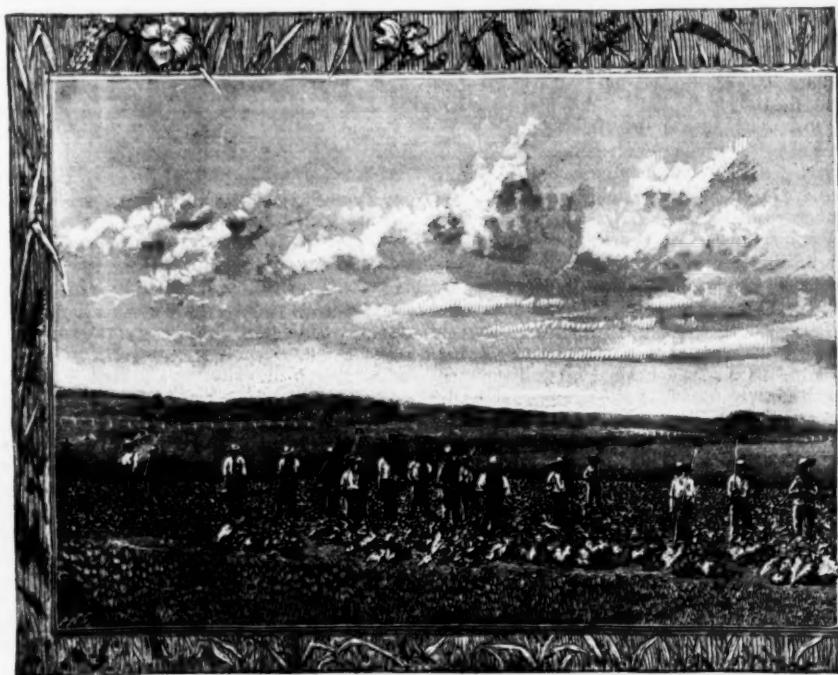
precision. With broad smiles on their faces, and the politeness of manner in which they are trained, the senior division was marched past me in single file into the larger school-room, and there they sang me their songs. Admirable they were ! and the boys evidently delighted in them. One was a phonetic imitation, wonderfully clever, of the rise of a shower of rain into a storm, and its gradual cessation. The other, accompanied with a song, brought vividly before us the sounds, and the moral of a railway train, bell, stoppage, tickets, and all. Not even in the best national schools have I seen anything which pleased me more.

After a few words to them, I went to one of the labour Homes for youths aged from sixteen to nineteen, whence they are draughted off for emigration. I asked, in even greater astonishment than before, how such big lads, men in everything but years, were so easily kept in perfect order, without the occurrence of a single outbreak in the history of the establishment. Dr. Barnardo's answer was much the same as before. Serious misconduct, any sort of persistent idleness or irregularity, any touch of insubordination, means inevitable and final dismissal. If the Founder sees a youth who is evidently bad, and who shows no intention to become better, he simply says to him, " My lad, we are trying to help you. It is impossible unless you will help us to help you. It is impossible unless you will also help yourself. You must take your choice. Obey rules or go ; behave properly or go." They know what " going " means ; they have experienced the anguish and the despair of the old life. Anything seems better than that. Hence I believe that dismissal is of the *rarest* occurrence.

Youths who are taken at this age are obviously too old to be apprenticed to any skilled industry. Only three modes of labour seem open in which to train them. They are, wood-chopping : the making of aerated waters, which requires little beyond manual toil ; and agricultural work. The two former are provided at the Stepney Labour Home ; the other at a large farm, which I was unable to visit. From thence the youths are yearly shipped off, as by character and improvement they show themselves to be fit for it, to the farm of ten thousand acres belonging to the institution in Manitoba. It is near the great river Saskatchewan, and lies between two lines of railway. Many of the youths go there, and are there employed in keeping cows and pigs, and are under regular supervision

and control, aware that their future depends upon their own character and exertion. By good conduct they can rise to farm land of their own in independent industry. Dr. Barnardo has emigrated no less than 4,963 trained boys and girls to Canada. They are not the refuse of the gutter and the riff-raff of the street, useless, idle, and vicious : but youths and girls who have been rescued, taught, disciplined, trained, physically healthy, and with an unstained record—the flower of the flock, whom, under God, he has been the means of saving from condi-

penny of endowment, nor even a regular subscription list. Except to men of a faith which is not only robust but indomitable, the responsibility of so immense an organisation, the care of so many institutions, the superintendence of such a mass of human beings, drawn from conditions so terribly unfavourable, would be crushing. Most men would succumb under it in a single week. And when to this is added an entire uncertainty from week to week how so many expenses are to be met, how so many mouths are to be fed, it requires a man to bear it



A GANG OF THE LADS AT WORK ON THE CANADIAN FARM.

tions which, if left untouched, become hot-beds for producing the felon and the prostitute. This is but one corner of a complicated work. Yet to have accomplished even a small fraction of this fraction of Dr. Barnardo's results would be a reward for which many a Bishop might gladly lay his mitre in the dust.

And how is this immense effort supported and maintained? That is one of the marvels of it! Men of the world will smile, contemptuous and superior, if I say that it is mainly supported by faith and prayer. It costs £150 a day, and yet it has *not one*

who has received a special gift of governance and elasticity of spirit. But Dr. Barnardo has hitherto had no cause to find his faith fail. On one occasion when his homes were more than £2,000 in debt, and he was for the moment burdened with anxiety, an entirely unknown person, whose name he had never heard, in humble dress, came to him and said that she had herself once been in a workhouse, and had determined that if ever she had money she would help him. Accordingly she handed him three envelopes, of which one contained £1,000 for his boys ; the second £1,000 for his girls ; and

the third £1000 for building. On another occasion he was accosted by a stranger in Pall Mall, who gave him £600 for his work. On another a man who had angrily and almost contumeliously refused to part with some land which was essential for the furtherance of his philanthropic plans, suddenly abandoned his determined opposition, on being accidentally informed that prayer had been offered up for this end. Much more, which would meet with the amazed incredulity of sceptics, might be told under this head, which shall be left unrelated. When I asked Dr. Barnardo "How he would act if his funds became wholly exhausted?" he answered that he did not even consider the question. His duty and his call, and the mission of his life, was to continue the work for which he had been set apart by the hands of invisible consecration. "All else," he continued, "is in the hands of God. My duty is to go on working. It is no look-out of mine whether the funds be overdrawn or no."

It will be observed that I have spoken of Dr. Barnardo's efforts to rescue children, boys, and youths. I have no space here to speak on his work for girls—of whom one thousand are in the beautiful cottage-homes at Ilford alone—although he considers this branch of his task even more interesting and more indispensable than the other. I trust, however, that I have said enough to arouse or to deepen the interest of all good men and good women in so unique a service to those little ones to whom, as Christ has promised, no one who gives so much as a cup of cold water shall lack of his reward. My labour in writing this account will be to me a source of the greatest joy and satisfaction if it should serve the purpose of winning for Dr. Barnardo and his work a large access of sympathy and of generous support.

CLOISTER LIFE IN THE DAYS OF COEUR DE LION.

BY THE VERY REV. H. DONALD M. SPENCE,
D.D., DEAN OF GLOUCESTER.

From *Good Words* (London), August, 1892.

I.

It was in the days of Cœur de Lion and his great father, the Angevin Henry II., and his predecessor King Stephen, that the monastic orders did their noblest work among us. It was a rough and cruel age, an age of great crimes and of great repentances. Never, perhaps, has a more crush-

ing disaster overtaken a whole people than when the Norman Conquest overwhelmed the great and wealthy Anglo-Saxon race—when the entire island, its fertile lands, its towns, its riches, its people, rich and poor, became the spoil of the conquerors; a few hundred Normans became suddenly rich and powerful—many thousand Saxons were plunged into poverty, misery, servitude. Long years passed before peace and prosperity were restored to hapless, conquered England. It is true that after several generations conquerors and conquered were mingled together and produced a nation, the like of which the world had never seen before—a nation which gradually grew in strength and power, in ability and endurance, grew into the mighty English race of to day. But the early years of this great people were, indeed, years of cruel trial and awful suffering.

The reigns of Stephen, Henry II., Cœur de Lion, and John, were years of untold misery for thousands.

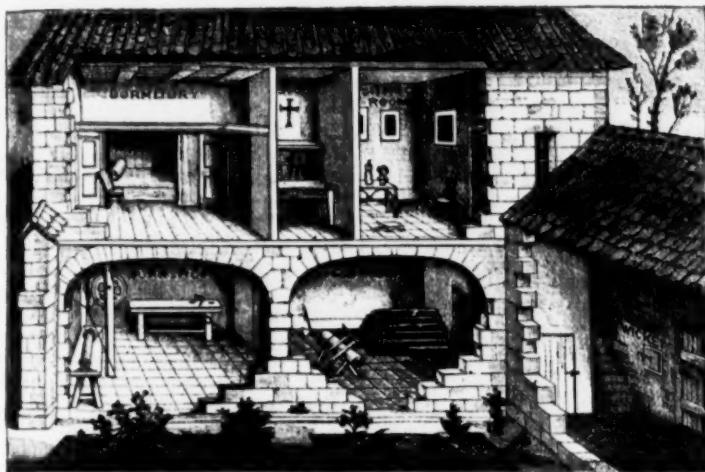
The great repentance on the part of some of the conquerors produced, we believe, that wonderful array of homes of peace—monasteries, nunneries, stately abbeys, wonderful cathedrals—a mighty array of homes, some gone, some a picturesque ruin, some with us still, devoted to the service of God, and the help of the suffering and the down-trodden—an array of stately buildings and sacred societies such as the world had never seen before, will probably never see again.* Men, many of them noble by birth, rich and powerful, overwhelmed by the sights of the great misery around them, devoted themselves and their lives to relieving, as best they could, the misery of their neighbours, to the alleviation of the unspeakable woe of the land they had taken possession of. The monastic orders in these reigns attained, perhaps, their loftiest ideal, and did unquestionably right noble work in their generation. They were not faultless, by any means, but many of the monks well deserved the title of Saint.

I will try and reproduce a few scenes from the life of one of these great ones, which may be taken as a fair specimen of the views and aspirations of not a few among the vast army of devoted "religious" who lived in these troubled times—the birth-throes of our English people.

* * * * *

Far away from England, among the

* In Stephen's reign of nineteen years 115 monasteries were built and 113 were added to these during the reign of Henry II., making a total of 228 monasteries built in these two reigns.



THE HOUSE OR "CELL" OF A FATHER OF LA GRANDE CHARTREUSE.

(From a print in a work on the Order, published by a monk of the monastery.)

mountains of Savoy—in that country now so well known among the seekers after a lost health,—in the neighbourhood of pleasant, sunny Aix-les-Bains, lived a boy of a noble race, who from early days had been brought up by men who dwelt in monasteries. A chance visit to the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse, in company with the Prior of the house in which he was living, determined the young Hugh of Avalon's future career. The weird beauty of the situation of the lonely house of St. Bruno and his companions, the towering rocks which overhung the group of cells, the far-reaching sombre pine forests with their melancholy and ceaseless music, which surrounded the little valley of prayer, the remoteness from all human habitation, the stern grave life lived by the solitaries devoted to God, inspired the young seeker after righteousness and truth with a passionate longing to share in what he felt was a beautiful life. After a lengthened novitiate the young noble took the final vows of a Carthusian monk, and in the course of a long and stormy career this early love never grew cold, never faded.

The rule of St. Bruno was ascetic even to painful severity; meat was forbidden, and the plainest and coarsest food only sanctioned; each brother of the order lived alone, never meeting his companions save in the chapel or on rare occasions. His bed-furniture was a rough blanket, a pillow, and

a skin; his dress a horsehair shirt covered outside with linen, worn night and day: with the white cloak of the order—in early times a sheepskin. This life of solitary meditation and prayer might go on for the professed brother for years. It might cease at any moment, as he was bound by vows of obedience never to be questioned. At the bidding of his "general" he was liable to be sent on the most distant and perilous mission, for these men owned neither country nor race; all men were their brethren.

As we have said, the eleventh and twelfth centuries were especially an age of cruelty and misrule, of greedy conquerors and hapless conquered—an age in which helpless, defenceless multitudes lived at the mercy of merciless masters, generally indifferent to suffering, when law was the feeblest and most untrustworthy stay of right.* In this stern, pitiless age, the monasteries—very numerous in England—and their inhabitants were the only power that could be relied on to exercise any real check upon these cruel and oppressive forces. By the mouth of the monk, in this age of violence and conquest, spoke the voice of the helpless, defenceless people, and their voice, thus uttered, compelled a hearing. It was to these "Homes of Prayer" that a man who in good earnest meant to serve God and to help his down-trodden neighbour associated

* Compare Dean Church, "Anselm," chap. ii.—viii., &c.

himself, or, in other words, "any high effort in those days to be thorough and religious, took the shape of monastic discipline and rule."

It was a splendid training for a great mind with a noble ideal, was the life of such a monastery as the Grande Chartreuse in the twelfth century.* "The governing thought was that the life there was a warfare, and the monastery was a camp or barrack; there was continued drill and exercises, fixed times, appointed tasks, hard fare, stern punishment; watchfulness was to be incessant, obedience prompt and absolute, no man was to have a will of his own, no man was to murmur."

In such a life as this the young Savoyard noble spent twenty happy years—years so happy that in after time, when he had become one of the earth's great ones, when he had a palace for his home instead of a naked cell, and wore rich clothing in place of the rough haircloth and sheep's-wool cloak, he would come back to a solitary English "Chartreuse" as to a retreat of perfect enjoyment.

"When the cares of the great world fell heavily upon the great monk-statesman, Hugh would often come to his little Carthusian cell for rest of mind and body, and, on coming there, would pitch away his grand dress and jump into his sheepskin as we moderns put on our shooting-jackets."

For twenty years Brother Hugh, the Carthusian, was a monk of the great house built in the solitudes of the Savoy Alps. Far and wide his name was whispered abroad as the most gifted monk of the famous order. His life had proved for him the most admirable discipline. The unswerving obedience had taught him how best to rule and influence others; the rigid discipline, the hard fare, the stern grey life had taught him to set its true value upon luxury and magnificence; very poor and tawdry seemed to him the prizes of the world which men spend their existence in striving after. His keen and powerful intellect grew with years as he performed his solitary duties at the Chartreuse, varied with the public tasks allotted him by his superiors.

Hugh the monk was almost in middle life when a wonderful and unexpected opening for a new strange service presented itself to him—a new service which brought him into close contact with two of the most famous kings in our many-coloured English story.

The dealings of Hugh, the Carthusian

monk, with Henry II., the great Plantagenet king, with Richard the Lion-hearted, and later with John Lackland, tell us something of the strong influence for good exercised over these mighty, irresponsible mediæval monarchs by a loving and sympathising Christian monk, whose education had taught him never to be afraid of the mightiest, whose training in a great and solemn monastery had made him "capable of the highest things, content—as living before Him with whom there is neither high nor low—to minister to the humblest."*

And the story of these dealings of the monk Hugh in the latter half of his noble life with these kings possesses another and a very different charm; it lifts up for a moment the veil which hangs over these memorable royal lives—the veil of years, the veil of many traditions, of glory as of shame—and we are brought absolutely face to face for a brief moment with Henry Plantagenet,† the greatest and most powerful monarch of the age; face to face with Richard the Lion-hearted, the bravest champion in Christendom, the hero of our boyish memories; face to face with John Lackland, the perjured, the murderer, the abhorred and detested John, who sleeps, however, as he prayed to sleep, in holy company in the gorgeous shrine at Worcester.

This brilliant chapter in the monk's story came about as follows. It was about the year of our Lord 1174 that Henry II., after the strange scenes of submission he had gone through in the matter of the murder of Thomas à Becket, determined to introduce the Carthusian order into England. It was like the great and statesmanlike king to desire to strengthen a mighty institution like that of the monastic orders, with whom he had waged a life-and-death contest and had been signally worsted. But the Plantagenet recognised the almost limitless influence of these orders, and, like a true patriot statesman, desired to invigorate and make more perfect a power which might so materially aid the future progress of the people he loved so well.

The first settlement of the Carthusians at Witham, near Frome, was attended with

* Church, "Anselm," chap. xiv.

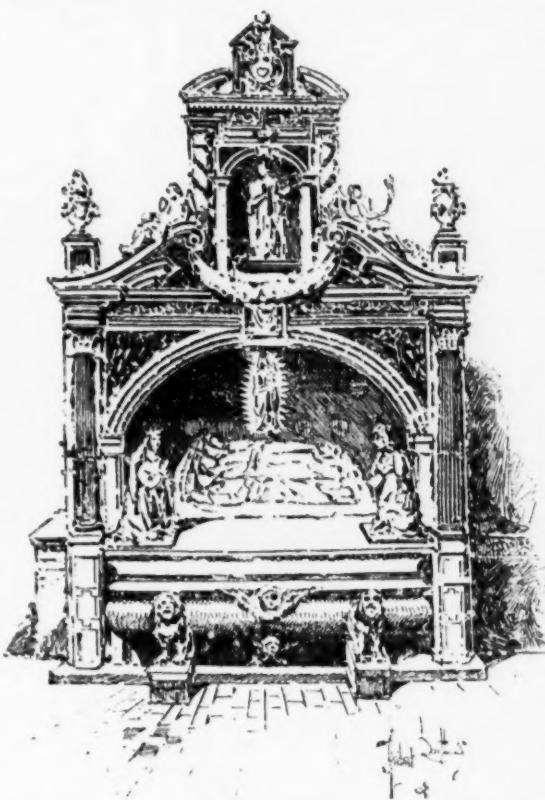
† Seven centuries off, thou wilt see King Henry II. visibly there, in all his glory, in some high presence-chamber, a vivid, noble-looking man, with grizzled beard, in glittering uncertain costume, with earls round him, and bishops and dignitaries, in the like. . . . "Cœur de Lion, not a theatrical popinjay, with greaves and steel cap on, but a man living upon victuals. Thou brave Richard! . . . he loved a man, and knew one when he saw him!" . . . John Lackland, a blustering dissipated human figure, with a kind of blackguard quality air, in cramoisy velvet, with much plumage and fringing amid numerous other human figures of the like, riding abroad with hawks, talking noisy nonsense; . . . a shabby Lackland as he was!"—Carlyle, "Past and Present: The Ancient Monk," chap. i.

* Church's "Anselm," chap. iii.

† Froude's "A Bishop of the Twelfth Century" ("Short Studies on Great Subjects").

grave dissensions between the monks and the tenants of the monks' lands. The stranger Carthusians, disheartened with their difficulties, were preparing to return to their native Savoy mountains, when Hugh, whose splendid devotion and great abilities were recognised in the order, was directed to take charge of the new English community as their prior. It was sorely against his will that he left his cell in his beloved Grande Chartreuse, but with the true monk obedience was the first, the paramount consideration. By the good management of the new prior and the help of the king, who recognised his ability and unbending integrity, the differences were soon arranged, the fame of Witham Priory rapidly grew. It became a favourite place of pilgrimage. The monks were even said to work miracles. The wise Prior, however, thought little of these, considering that the only miracle a monk could really work, and which was worth speaking about, was holiness of life. His biographer, his faithful friend and companion, Brother Adam, subsequently Abbot of Eynsham, relates how at this period of his life he (Adam) observed how the Prior Hugh worked many miracles, but he paid no heed to them, and so he lived for eleven more years a quiet, simple, earnest life, governing his little community, training himself unconsciously for higher and more difficult work.

One day Prior Hugh received a royal command from Eynsham, near royal Woodstock, to attend a great council. King Henry II. told him the canons of Lincoln had chosen him, and that he, the King, fully approved the choice, to be Bishop of the great see of Remigius : the late Bishop, Walter de Coutances, had been promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Rouen. Very unwillingly and interposing many questions before his acceptance, Hugh the Monk became Hugh the Bishop. He was then more than fifty years old ; thirty-two or thirty-three years of training in the stern ascetic monastic school of unquestioning obedience



MONUMENT TO HENRY II. AND RICHARD I. AND THEIR QUEENS,
FORMERLY AT FONTEVRAULT.

(By permission of Mr. J. C. Wall.)

and ceaseless work had well fitted him for the great part he was now to play in public life.

Brother Adam, in his account of this part of the historic life of the monk bishop, tells us little of the stirring public events which made the period of Hugh's episcopate so memorable. Most of our readers are well acquainted with the charming romance of "Ivanhoe," perhaps the most widely read of the writings of the great Scottish novelist and poet ; the period described in the story of "Ivanhoe" corresponded to that when Hugh was Bishop of Lincoln. The grand Crusade, the absence from England of Richard Cœur de Lion, the captivity and return of the Lion-hearted, the plots and treachery of Prince John, of all these stirring events the monk Hugh was a spectator ; nay, more, he was a promi-

nent actor in not a few of them.* Brother Adam tells us little of these; with him Church questions, the ecclesiastical disputes in which Hugh took a part, curious details of his beloved master's life, traits of his lovable character—these are the things which Adam delights to tell us of; they are what concerned him, and he thought they would interest his readers—dwellers for the most part in lonely cloisters—much more than recitals of State policy, more than the sorrows and joys, more than marriages and deaths of kings and princes, more than war, though the war was for the possession of Jerusalem and the Holy Places. I daresay he was right. Men and women do not change much, and Walter Scott is read by thousands, while Hume and even Froude can only count their students by hundreds. So we must be grateful for gossip, loving Adam's memoirs, especially when our biographer takes us in the course of his narrative, as now and again he does, into the august presence of the Plantagenets, Henry II., Cœur de Lion, and shifty John.

His hero-master Hugh—I call him advisedly "hero," for a more heroic soul than that of Hugh of Avalon never dwelt in a frail and delicate body—his hero master was evidently a trusted friend and counsellor of two at least of these famous monarchs. Not long after the monk's elevation it happened that at Lincoln a rich prebendal stall fell vacant. King Henry II. wanted it for one of his courtiers, and wrote his views on the matter to Bishop Hugh, thinking he had only to express his wish to obtain the stall. Hugh at once wrote back to the King, "that these stalls were for priests, not for courtiers." The King was very angry, and peremptorily sent for Hugh. Henry II. was then residing at his favourite palace of Woodstock, and the Bishop was at Dorchester, some thirteen miles away, a place in that day in the far-reaching diocese of Lincoln.

Hugh was introduced into the presence of Henry as he sat, with his courtiers round him, under a tree. The King before whom the monk-bishop stood, whose power he was quietly defying, was no ordinary man. He was not only one of the wisest, but was perhaps the most powerful prince in Chris-

* See Froude, "A Bishop of the Twelfth Century," drawn from the "Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolensis," edited by Rev. J. F. Dimock. Mr. Froude speaks of this biography of "Brother Adam" as containing the most vivid picture which has come down to us of England as it then was, and of the first Plantagenet kings. The "Magna Vita S. Hugonis" was first printed in the seventeenth century; editor, Dom le Vasseur; and again was edited by Dom le Courteux. For this study of mine, I have also used and quoted from the exhaustive and scholarly "Vie de S. Hugues, par un Religieux de la Grande Chartreuse" (Montreuil, 1890).

tendom. He was absolute sovereign of England, and across the seas his dominions embraced almost the half of what is now known as France. He was closely connected by marriage and relationship with the Emperor and the Kings of France and Arragon. He was the head of the house of the Norman Kings of Sicily, and was heir of the Christian King of Jerusalem. His glory and power were acknowledged not only throughout the western but also in the eastern world. But Hugh the monk looked on the face of his mighty sovereign, who ever since he had come to England had been his friend, unabashed. It seemed but a trifling favour that the King asked from him, but Hugh felt that to grant it would be an injury to a far greater king than Henry Plantagenet.*

"The Bishop approached—no one rose or spoke. He saluted the King; there was no answer. Then Hugh drew near; gently pushing aside an earl who was sitting at Henry's side, he took his place. Silence still continued. At last Henry, looking up, called for a needle and thread. He had hurt a finger of his left hand; it was wrapped with a strip of linen, the end was loose, and the King began to sew. The Bishop watched him through a few stitches, and then with the utmost composure said to him, 'Quam similis es modo cognatis tuis de Falaise.'—'Your Majesty reminds me now of your cousins of Falaise.' Henry at once saw the allusion, and the chronicler tells us was convulsed with laughter. Then turning to his Court, 'Do you see what this facetious visitor means?' He is referring to my ancestress, the mother of the Conqueror, Arletta, the Tanner of Falaise's daughter. Falaise, you know, is famous for its leather work. He says when I was stitching the linen round my finger I was showing my descent.' Then turning to the monk-bishop he asked him how he could treat his king with such scant courtesy as to refuse him the small favour in the matter of the stall at Lincoln? 'I know myself,' answered Hugh gravely, 'to be indebted to your Highness for my late promotion, but I considered your Highness's soul would be in danger if I was found wanting in the discharge of my duties, so I resisted an improper attempt on your part upon a stall in my cathedral.'"

Henry was too great a man not to know the Bishop was right. He had had many other experiences too of Hugh, so when the

* "Vie de S. Hugues par un Religieux de la Grande Chartreuse," livre ii. ch. v. Froude.

first flush of anger at being crossed in his will had faded away he recognised what a source of strength to throne and altar was such a fearless, honest man. The King asked no more for the disputed stall.

Hugh's friend, King Henry II., died two years after the scene at Woodstock just related. Cœur de Lion succeeded. The old friendship with the father was continued to the son, whom he probably had often seen and talked with in Henry II.'s lifetime. Our monk-bishop seems to have loved dearly the "Lion Heart," forgiving and making allowances for the many mistakes and faults of the great crusader, and only seeing the splendid qualities and the generous chivalry of the well-loved monarch.

During the fourteen years of his episcopate, A.D. 1185-1200, we catch sight of our "ideal monk" playing often the part of a true statesman in the stormy days of King Richard and King John, standing perpetually between the high-handed oppressor and the oppressed; we see him always the same fearless, simple figure, restlessly working for others, equally at home at the court of the warrior King of England, surrounded by his mailed barons and captains, as in the sad precincts of a leper hospital, or among his rough workmen who were building for him his stately cathedral on the hill of Lincoln, or alone on the marshes with wild birds over which he acquired a strange influence. It would almost seem as though, like King Solomon in the Arabian story, he possessed the language of birds, and could talk with them and tell them his kind, sweet thoughts. With the sick and dying he was singularly winning and tender.* "Pardon, blessed Jesus," exclaims his chaplain Adam, "pardon the unhappy soul of him who tells the story. When I saw my master (Bishop Hugh) touch those livid faces; when I saw him kiss the blessed eyes, or eyeless sockets, I shuddered with disgust. But Hugh said to me, that these afflicted ones were flowers of Paradise, pearls in the coronet of the eternal King waiting for the coming of their Lord, who in His own time would change their forlorn bodies into the likeness of His own glory." He would visit these poor scarred lepers, would wash their cruel sores with his own hands, would kiss them, pray with them, comfort them.

He had a remarkable love, too, for the last sad rites with which our holy religion lays the dead to rest, often taking out of the hands of his priests and chaplains the

saying the solemn, beautiful service over the corpse.

On one of these occasions we read how, when he was at Rouen with King Richard, he was summoned to the royal table. "The King," he said in reply to the court messenger, "must not wait for me. He had better dine without me than that I should leave my Master's work undone."

That peculiar power which he exercised over wild birds and animals, it has been noticed, was possessed by other practical holy men.* St. Cuthbert, the favourite saint of the North, some of whose bones rest in that grand minster which looks down at Durham on the Wear, and St. Guthlac, the holy solitary, whose noble monument we still wonder at when we gaze at the beautiful ruin of Crowland, both possessed this same strange power over wild birds and untamed creatures.

He found time in his busy, happy life to share in the work of church building; a work which in the ages when the Plantagenets ruled attained an excellence never attained before, and probably will be never reached again. Hugh found the Norman cathedral of Remigius, at Lincoln, half in ruins, the result of the earthquake of the year 1185. He busied himself with the zeal he ever threw into the work which lay before him to raise money and prepare designs for a noble minster. The choir and eastern transept of the present matchless cathedral were completed in Hugh's lifetime, and a beautiful tradition is still with us which tells us how the monk-bishop not only assisted in the planning of the wondrous pile, but now and again worked with his own hands among the masons and carpenters as they fashioned the stones and carved the beams of the great church. We have already spoken of his love for Cœur de Lion. It was in the year 1197 that a serious rupture took place between the King and the Bishop. Richard commanded that a contingent of men-at-arms from the See of Lincoln should be sent to help him in one of his perpetual foreign wars. Hugh resisted, and said the liberties of the See which he had sworn to defend forbade any subsidies of men and money being levied for foreign service. Other bishops yielded the point, and provided the subsidies, but Hugh stoutly resisted, defying even the royal threat of confiscation. The impetuous Richard was deeply incensed. Hugh determined to see him; he left England, and found Cœur de Lion at Roche d'Andeli,

* "Vie de S. Hugues," livre ii. chap. viii. Froude.

"Vie de S. Hugues," livre ii. ch. iii. Professor Bright,
"Early English Church History."

hearing mass in the church. The interview between the angry sovereign and the fearless monk was a curious one.*

"Richard was sitting in a great chair at the opening into the choir; on either side of him were the Bishops of Durham and Ely. Hugh came near and bowed to the sovereign. Richard frowned and turned away. 'Kiss me, my lord King,' said the Bishop—the kiss was the usual greeting between the sovereign and the spiritual peer. The King turned away still more pointedly. 'Kiss me, my lord,' said the monk again,

would have ordered him into captivity, but who could resist such marvellous audacity? The royal kiss was given. Bishop Hugh passed up to the altar, and became at once absorbed in the service, King Richard curiously watching him. After the mass the two old friends were reconciled, the Bishop gaining—strange to say—his point." The King's words were remembered in after days, when he had left for ever the scene of his glories and troubles: "If all bishops were like my lord of Lincoln, not a prince among us could lift his head against them."

The two friends—seemingly so unlike—never met again in this world. Hugh had returned to England, but soon started again for the continent to try once more to influence King Richard, who, again in sore need of money, persisted in making unjust demands on England. But before he reached Angers Sir Gilbert de Lacy met him with the sad news of the great prince's death. He had received a mortal wound from an arrow at the siege of Chalus.

Hugh arrived at Fontevrault on Palm Sunday, just in time to look on the coffin of his loved "Lion Heart."*

The story of Adam, the chaplain, takes us also into the presence chamber of John Lackland, now King of England. But we miss the old playful, fearless love which existed between the last two sovereigns, Henry and Richard, and our monk. Hugh knew John too well, and we only now see the stern, grave ascetic, the old man of God; the bright, sunny, fearless Hugh had no place in that great heart of his for the shifty, treacherous John. But the end of this busy devoted career was at hand. The monk-bishop was prostrated by sudden weakness. He was scarcely an old man. That self-denying, abstemious life, full of human interests, bright, busy, blessed, might well have looked forward still to years of splendid usefulness, but death came suddenly. He had paid, in the year following Richard's death, a last visit to his beloved



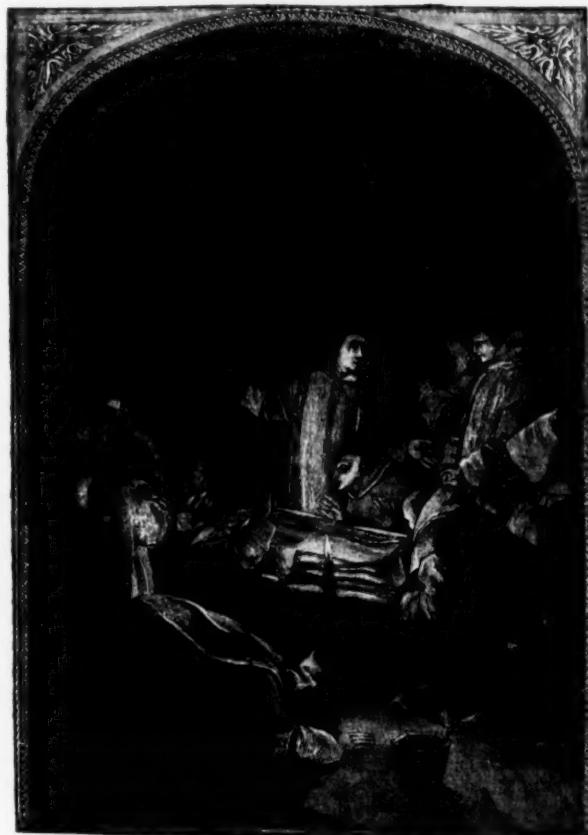
grasping Cœur de Lion by the vest, and shaking him. Angrily Richard replied, 'Non meruisti, thou hast not deserved it.' 'I have deserved it,' said Hugh, still grasping the royal dress. Had he shown the slightest fear, probably the 'Lion Heart'

* "Vie de S. Hugues," livre II, ch. vii. Froude.

* The body of Richard was laid by his father, Henry II., in the Abbey of Fontevrault. The "Lion Heart" was bequeathed to the Canons of Rouen, who enshrined it in "silver and gold" and placed it in their cathedral. This precious relic was discovered in 1838 (July 31), in a cavity formed in the lateral wall of the choir. It was enclosed within two leaden boxes, the interior one lined with a very thin plate of silver, on which was engraved:—

♦ HIC : JACET :
COR : RICAR :
DI : REGIS :
ANGLORUM :

The heart was much shrunken, and "had the appearance of a reddish coloured leaf, dry and bent round at the ends." It was wrapped in a sort of taffety of a greenish colour. It now repose beneath a stately tomb with an effigy of the king resting on it, on the south side of the choir of Rouen Cathedral. ("The Tombs of the Kings of England." By J. Charles Wall. 1891.)



THE DEATH OF ST. BRUNO, FOUNDER OF THE ORDER AND BUILDER OF LA GRANDE CHARTREUSE.

(From the picture by Le Sueur in the Louvre.)

Grande Chartreuse, and in his old haunts, seemingly, was as strong as ever, but on his way home his strength failed. Resting at his London house in the old Temple, he felt the end was come. Had not the great churchman, the patriot statesman, the loving monk, left his life's hopes and dreams buried in the royal tomb at Fontevrault? Hugh was willing to live on, it seems, and to work on as long as his Master pleased, but the joy of living was quenched, the sunny hopefulness of existence seems to have been darkened for ever when Richard Cœur de Lion died.

He lay for some time in great suffering quietly fading away. Among his notable visitors was King John, whom he cared little for; the wicked prince ever had a reluctant and lingering attachment to the loyal,

devoted friend of his dead father and brother. Hugh knew that for him the end was come, and with calm cheerfulness prepared for it. There was little to do. His whole life had been a preparation for the other and grander state of being. Fear of death had no place in his heart. "We should be indeed unhappy,"* he was heard to say, "if we were not allowed to die at all." He told his friend the exact spot in his grand minster church where he wished to be buried—and so waited quietly for death.

In Archbishop Lanfranc's monastic regulations, which generally represent the rule of the great houses in England and on the Continent in the best age of monk-life, elaborate and minute rules are laid down

* "Magna Vita," livre v. ch. xix. "Vie de S. Hugues," livre ii. ch. vi.

about the treatment of the dying. When the brother entered into his agony, a hair-cloth was spread on the floor of the cell, ashes were sprinkled over it, a cross was made on the ashes, and on this the dying brother was laid. "The whole convent was summoned by sharp, repeated blows on a board. All who heard it—unless service in the church was going on—were to gather near and repeat the Penitential Psalms, and so, in the presence of the House, amid the low muttered whispers of prayer and psalm, in sackcloth and ashes the monk of God died." So, writes Dean Church, died Anselm, and that master builder Gundulf of Rochester; so passed away Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian order, and unnumbered other known and unknown saints and holy men, whose names we believe are written in the Book of God.

Hugh had his cross of ashes made on the floor of his room in the old Temple when he felt the end was quite near, and by his own wishes was lifted on to it; the choristers of St. Paul's were chanting round him the compline, and as they were beginning the "Nunc dimittis," his chaplain tells us, he left them. "One of the most beautiful spirits," writes the most eloquent of our historians, by no means a blind admirer of the monastic system, "that was ever incarnated in human clay."

* * * * *

He was buried* as he desired, in that stately but as yet unfinished minster of his on the hill of Lincoln. Round his grave gathered, indeed, a strange and motley group. The King of England, John Lackland, helped to carry the bier of the well-loved monk; by his side, helping with the sad burden, was the King of Scotland. Among the mourners were many bishops and abbots, earls and barons; and conspicuous among them was a company of poor Jews, wishing to show their loving homage to one who, in an age conspicuous for its fierce persecution of the chosen race, had ever helped them to bear the sad and grievous burden of their hunted, harassed life.†

Such was the man, nurtured and educated

* They left him to sleep, as he desired, in the dress in which fourteen years before he had been consecrated Bishop; the vestments were kept in the sacristy at Lincoln *against this day*. "Les ornements pontificaux dont se servit l'Evêque pendant son sacre étaient fort simples et sans luxe, depuis les Sandales jusqu'à la Mitre. S. Hugues les destina à revêtir son corps au jour de ses funérailles." "Magna Vita," livre v. ch. xvi. "Vie de S. Hugues," livre II. ch. ii.

† The Angel Choir of Lincoln Cathedral was erected as a home for the shrine of S. Hugh, and the saint's remains were deposited there in the presence of Edward I and his Queen, A.D. 1290. The shrine was made of beaten gold, but was taken away in the thirty-second year of King Henry VIII's reign. A black marble slab covered the grave where it was supposed the remains of Hugh were reinterred. This was opened in late days, and in the ground beneath a stone coffin was discovered, within which was another coffin of lead; on

by the monastic orders of the twelfth century. It may be said he was a rare and exceptional example. It is true that Hugh of the Chartreuse was an especially gifted man, but the spirit which lived in the Monk of our little study, guided and governed the lives of uncounted men and women in that fierce age of trial. Surely the school which could train such noble servants for their country, their Church, and their God, can never be lightly spoken of, but must ever hold an honored place in the many-coloured story of our England.

"Servants of God! or sons
Shall I not call you? because
Not as servants, ye knew
Your Father's innermost mind,

Yours is the praise, if mankind
Hath not as yet in its march
Fainted, and fallen, and died!

Then in such hour of need
Of your fainting dispirited race,
Ye, like angels, appear
Radiant with ardour divine.
Beacons of hope, ye appear!
Langour is not in your heart,
Weakness is not in your word,
Weariness not on your brow."

—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

THE TEACHING OF OUR LORD AS TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE RIGHT REV. C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D.,
BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

From *The Expository Times* (Edinburgh), May, 1892.

III.

THE TRADITIONAL AND ANALYTICAL VIEWS.

I. THE rectified traditional view may be conveniently expressed under the following formulated statements. We have full reason for believing—1. That the Book of Genesis was *compiled* by Moses,—in its earlier chapters from primeval documents which may have been brought by Abraham from Chaldaea, and in its later chapters (except parts of xxxvi.) from family records of a distinctly contemporaneous origin, which

opening this a decaying mass of linen and silken vestments were discovered, so arranged as roughly to simulate the shape of a human body—not even a fragment of bone was there—but it was evident from the stains on the sides of the leaden coffin that a corpse had once reposed in it.—(From a paper written by the Rev. Preceptor Venables, of Lincoln.) Were not these "Vestments" probably the ones S. Hugh had so carefully laid by for his last long sleep? (See note above.)

we may reasonably believe to have been preserved in the families of the successive patriarchs as the archives of their race. That these should have been accessible to the divinely-appointed leader of the race, himself a man of known learning,—that he should have arranged them and illustrated them by contemporary notes, is a supposition so reasonable, that, though no more than a supposition, it may be accepted at least as more plausible than any other which has yet been advanced. 2. That, of the four remaining Books of the Pentateuch, the first, the Book of Exodus, as the autobiographical character of large portions of it seems clearly to indicate, was *written* by Moses, or, at least, under his immediate direction and authority. That the Book of Leviticus, as containing the statutes and ordinances for the most part expressly stated to have been revealed to Moses, must, if not actually written by him, have been compiled by authorized scribes under his immediate supervision. That the Book of Numbers, as containing more mixed material, may be considered to have been compiled—in part from the legislative revelation made directly to Moses, in part from contemporary records made by Moses, in obedience to God's command, in part from documentary annals including references to books that may have been compiled during the lengthened abode in the wilderness,—but all, as the tenor of the whole book, and its concluding verse seem distinctly to imply, under the authority and general oversight of Moses. . . . Finally, that the Book of Deuteronomy, containing as it does, not without notes of time and place, the addresses of the closing days of the inspired legislator (which we may regard as having been specially recorded and preserved by official writers), assumed its present form, as one passage seems in some degree to suggest, under the hand of Joshua. 3. that the Book of Joshua, which is rightly considered by all recent critics as standing in close connexion with the Pentateuch, was similarly compiled by some contemporary writer or writers under the direction of Joshua—in part, as the narrative seems to imply, from communications personally made by Joshua, and, in part, from documents and records made at the time by official writers and recorders, of whose existence and employment, even in those early days, we find traces in the Pentateuch. 4. That the Book of Judges is a compilation, not improbably made by the prophet Samuel, from contemporary records, family memorials, and other existing materials, com-

mencing with events recorded in Joshua, and extending, though not in perfect chronological order, over a period of about 400 years. 5. That the Books of Samuel and of Kings are compilations, consisting in part of the compositions of contemporary prophets, beginning with Samuel and with Nathan and Gad, and in part of selected materials from official records, sacred and secular, put together, and perhaps added to, by seers and prophetic writers, of whom Jeremiah was the last, and, as he well may have been, one of the principal contributors. 6. That the Books of Chronicles were a compilation, possibly, nay, even probably, by Ezra, made largely from the Books of Kings, or from the documents on which these books were based, but with abundant references and allusions to nearly all the earlier historical books, including the Pentateuch. 7. That the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah were written by the writers whose names they bear, and contain, in part, extracts from official documents and from contemporary records, and, in part, narratives of personal history. 8. That the prophetic writings are written by those whose names are, in every case, specified in their writings, and that they contain, in some instances, portions of contemporary history, but that the main element of their writings is distinctly predictive, and has reference to events that belong to what was future and posterior to the time when they were mentioned by the writer. 9. Lastly, that the historical books, as we now have them, bear plain and unmistakable marks of the work having passed through the hands, not only of the early compiler or compilers, but of later editors and revisers,—numerous notes, archaeological and explanatory, some obviously of an early, and some of a late date, being found in nearly all the books, but particularly the more ancient. Such would appear to be a fair and correct statement of what we have agreed to term the Traditional view of the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament, modified as it now is, and, in some particulars, rectified, by modern research.

II. We now turn to the opposing theory to which we have agreed to give the colourless epithet of "Analytical," as claiming to be founded on a searching criticism of the historical books of the Old Testament, and especially of what is now called the Hexateuch (the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua)—these early books involving the widest alleged divergences from the formulated statements which have been set forth

in the foregoing paragraphs. This Analytical view we will first place before the reader in the form now generally adopted by the most acute foreign critics of the Old Testament : we will then pass onward to notice the extent to which they have been accepted by recent writers of our own country and Church. The results that have been thus accepted will unhappily be found to be considerable ; but the tone in which they are set forth is widely different from that adopted by the majority of the foreign critics, and is marked by a temperate and reverential spirit which, at any rate, shows some recognition of the momentous issues that are involved, and the influence they must exercise on the faith of the general reader of the Old Testament.

The results of the Analytical theory, as arrived at by the most acute foreign critics, may be thus briefly summarised : 1. That the Old Testament did not assume its present form till a somewhat late date in the period of the Exile. 2. That the later historical books, and especially the Books of Chronicles, disclose methods of constructing history which justify the limited estimate that has been formed of the trustworthiness of the earlier books, and prepare us for the inferences that have been drawn from a critical investigation of them. 3. That this critical investigation, in the case of the Pentateuch, and the Book of Joshua (now usually called the Hexateuch), discloses at least three strata of narrative and legislative details, of different dates and distinctive peculiarities, which, after having been revised and re-edited, possibly several times, have at last been not unskilfully combined in the form in which they have now come down to us. 4. That the three strata more particularly to be recognised are—(a) a History Book,—itself composite, as both names of Almighty God (Jehovah and Elohim) are to be found in it,—dating from the period of the early kings and prophets ; (b) the Book of Deuteronomy, compiled in the days of Manasseh or Josiah by some unknown writer, and having some slight affinity with the above-mentioned history book ; (c) a document, in its earliest state of perhaps the same date as (a), historical only in form, using throughout the name Elohim,—sometimes called the *Grundschrift* or Fundamental Document, sometimes the Book of the Four Covenants, sometimes, though misleadingly, the earlier Elohist,—which, after having been carefully revised, became expanded in the time of the Exile into what is called the Priestly Code, its basis being Leviticus and allied portions of Exodus and

Numbers. 5. That the three codes of Law found in the Pentateuch conform to and corroborate this analysis. 6. That in the present Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings we have remodelled history, and a repainting of the original picture on a generally uniform principle, and with some reference to Deuteronomy,—the accretions and corruptions in the Books of Samuel being numerous, and especially when the prophet stands in connexion with the history of David ; and the revision of the Books of Kings being also very unrestricted, though closer to the facts than in Judges or Samuel. 7. That the prophets used history as a vehicle for their own ideas ; and that their so-called predictions are only fallible anticipations of the manner in which, according to their conceptions, the Deity would, consistently with the character they ascribed to Him, deal with the subjects of His government ; and this, notwithstanding it is admitted that all the writers of the New Testament, and our blessed Lord Himself, ascribe divine foreknowledge to the Israelitish prophets. 8. That thus—to sum up a few leading results to which we are led by the foregoing statements—we are to regard the Book of Deuteronomy as a fiction, founded it may be on traditions, and of no earlier date probably than the eighteenth year of Josiah ; that the Tabernacle of Witness, or, as it is now commonly called, the Tent of Meeting, and everything connected with it, had never any existence except in the fabricated history composed in the days of the Exile, and that far from the Tabernacle being the prototype of the Temple, it was the Temple that suggested the deliberate and elaborate fiction of the Tabernacle ; and, further, that the older books were remodelled according to the Mosaic form, and that Chronicles, especially, was falsified by Priests and Levites to sustain the belief that the tribe of Levi had been set apart from the days of Moses, and that the priesthood dated from that time,—such a belief being, it is alleged, utterly inconsistent with the truth.

Such, in brief outline, is the analytical view of the Old Testament—a view which, I regret to say, has very many supporters, and in Germany is fast becoming the accepted account of the origin and formation of the earlier portion of the Book of Life. That such a view should meet with acceptance in any Christian country is sad enough, and startling enough, but that it should meet with acceptance to a considerable extent at the hands of members of our own Church is full of very sad augury for the

future. But it is so. In a carefully written article by one of our university professors, and in a portion of a recent and well-known collection of theological treatises, the substance of much that has been just specified has been adopted and set forth as a view of the Old Testament that may be consistently maintained by an English Churchman.

We are told, for example—(1) That the earlier narratives before the call of Abraham are of the nature of myth,—myth being defined to be the product of mental activity not yet distinguished into history and poetry and philosophy. (2) That the Hexateuch owes its existence to three principal sources, viz. those already specified,—the composite History Book, sometimes called the prophetic narrative, Deuteronomy, and the Priests' Code : the first-mentioned being the oldest ; the second belonging to the reign either of Manasseh or Josiah ; and the third to the period of the Exile, when the laws, gradually developed out of an earlier and simpler system, were finally formulated in a complete and definite Code. (3) That the Book of Deuteronomy is a republication of the Law in the spirit and power of Moses put dramatically into his mouth. (4) That the later historical books are of a composite structure, and present to us the phenomena of older narratives fitted into a compiler's framework ; and, generally, that there is a considerable idealising element in the Old Testament history. (5) That in the Books of Chronicles we must admit unconscious idealising of history, and a reading back into past records of a ritual development which is really later. (6) That the predictive knowledge of the prophets is general, and of the issue to which things tend ; sometimes, but not usually, a knowledge of times and of seasons, prophetic inspiration being consistent with erroneous anticipations as to the circumstances and the opportunities of God's self-revelation.

Such are the conclusions with regard to Old Testament criticism which English Churchmen are advising us to accept. Such the sort of compromise, if compromise it can justly be called, which those who stand in the old paths, and substantially hold the traditional view, are now invited to make with those who maintain in its completeness the analytical view, as it has been set forth in this address.

Now, in the first place, let any fair-minded reader simply set side by side the six statements just made with the eight statements of the analytical view made a little earlier, and then form his opinion of the

relation of the two. And will it not be this?—that the difference in tenor between the two groups of statements is slight, and that it is impossible to regard the statements of the English writers as otherwise than expressive of a general acceptance of the analytical view ; modified, it will be observed, in certain details, and minimised, to some extent, in phraseology, but in no degree approximating to the rectified traditional view, or to be regarded as a mediating statement between the two theories. We have really only two views to place in contrast, but, in doing so, it will be only right and equitable to recognise that we are not justified in imputing to the English advocates of the analytical view the extreme opinions which the foreign advocates can be shown either by direct statement or by necessary inference, indisputably to hold. This, however, may always be said—that the tendency of unbalanced minds, if they accept any modified view, to pass onward into the unmodified, is very patent. The real harm then that has been done by recent English writers lies in the plain fact that they have, though with the very best intentions, actually prepared the way for shaken and unstable minds to arrive at results which will at last be found to involve inability to accept the supernatural, and so, a complete shipwreck of the faith.

These things are sad and serious, and do justify us in inviting these well-intentioned writers to reconsider their whole position, and to ask themselves whether they may not more profitably devote their efforts to a guarded rectification, where it may be needed, of the traditional view, and whether these over-hasty excursions into the analytical are not full of peril, not only to simple and trustful souls, but even to those in whose interest these adventurous excursions have been made.

But we must now proceed onward with our general argument. We have set forth, we trust fairly and correctly, the two opposing views—the rectified traditional and the analytical, and also the few real modifications that have been suggested in the latter. We must now put these views to the test, and give full and fair consideration to the two leading arguments which must influence us in our choice between the old and the new learning,—between tradition and critical hypothesis,—between historical supernaturalism and ultimately natural development,—between alleged facts and alleged myths,—between the leading features of the belief of the Jewish and of the Christian Church, and the investigations, con-

fessedly acute and elaborate, of a few distinguished scholars and critics of this last half of the nineteenth century. These two leading arguments we will endeavour to develop in the next address, and in those which will follow it. We will first make our appeal to the reasonable and the probable : we will then make that appeal which, if rightly made, must bring to a close all controversy—the appeal to Him to whom the Old Testament bears witness, and whom the New Testament reveals—to Him in whom dwell all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, the Light of the world as well as the Saviour of the world—the Lord Jesus Christ.

CHURCH FOLK-LORE.

BY J. EDWARD VAUX.

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VIII.

SURVIVALS OF HEATHEN CUSTOMS.

ALTHOUGH most cultured persons have a vague idea that some of our religious or quasi-religious customs may have their origin in distinctly heathen practices which existed before the Christian era, there are few, I take it, who could give distinct examples of heathen survivals of a more or less definite kind. Such instances, however, are to be found in our own day, and my object in this paper is to point out some of them.

To begin with Devonshire. The Rev. A. T. Fryer, who was brought up in that county, tells me of a distinctly heathen sacrifice, only modernised, which is still kept up in the parish of King's Teignnton, not far from Teignmouth, every Whitsuntide, an account of which is to be found in White's Devonshire. It appears that on Whitsun Monday a lamb is drawn about the parish in a cart decorated with garlands of lilac, laburnum, and other flowers, and persons are requested to give something towards the expenses of the ceremonial. On Tuesday the lamb is killed and roasted whole in the middle of the village. It is said that formerly it was roasted in the bed of a stream which flows through the village, the water of which had been turned into a new channel temporarily in order that the bed of the stream might be cleansed. The lamb, when cooked, is sold in slices to the poor at a cheap rate. The precise origin of the

custom is forgotten, but a tradition, evidently to be traced back to heathen days, is to this effect. The village at some remote period suffered from a dearth of water, and the inhabitants were advised by their priests to pray to the gods for water, whereupon water sprang up spontaneously in a meadow about a third of a mile above the village, in an estate now called Rydon, amply sufficient to supply the wants of the place, and at present adequate, even in a dry summer, to work three mills. A lamb, it is said, has ever since that time been sacrificed as a votive offering at Whitsuntide in the manner before mentioned. The said water appears like a large pond, from which, in rainy weather, may be seen jets of water springing up some inches above the surface in many parts. The place has been visited by numbers of different scientific bodies, and whether it is really a spring is still a vexed question. The general opinion appears to be that the real spring is on Haldon Hill, and that after flowing down to Lindridge it loses itself in the fissures of the lime rock which abounds in the neighbourhood through which it flows ; when it meets with some impediment it bursts up through the soft meadow ground at Rydon, where it has ever had the name of " Fair Water."

Another Devonshire sacrificial custom, evidently having its origin in pagan times, is recorded by "An Old Holne Curate." He says that at Holne, on Dartmoor, the young men, before daybreak on May-day, assemble and seize a ram lamb on the moor. This they fasten to a certain granite pillar, kill it, and roast it whole. At midday they scramble to get slices of it to secure good luck for the ensuing year. The day ends with dancing, wrestling, &c.

The following is a tolerably strong example of the survival of a distinctly heathen sacrifice, and when names and localities are given, as in this case, the most sceptical must accept it as true in fact :—

Mr. Henderson wrote his "Folk-lore of the Northern Counties" in 1879, and he says :—" Not fifteen years ago a herd of cattle in the county of Moray being attacked with murrain, one of them was sacrificed by being buried alive as a propitiatory offering for the rest ; and I am informed by Professor Moreoco that a live ox was burnt near Haltwhistle, in Northumberland, only twenty years ago with the same intent. A similar observance has also lingered on among the Celtic population of Cornwall almost, if not quite, to the present day." It is somewhat startling to read of an ox being offered as a burnt sacrifice in England

in our own times after fifteen or more centuries of Christianity. But Mr. Henderson gives other examples of similar doings. They appear, however, to be commoner in Scotland than in England. The Rev. S. Baring Gould, as I am informed, has stated that in building a new bridge at Halle, which was completed in 1843, the people wanted to have a child immured in the foundation to ensure its stability, so the idea of even human sacrifices can scarcely be said to be extinct in civilised Europe.

Professor J. Y. Simpson, M.D., in his notes on some Scottish Charm Stones, printed in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, states that he knows of two localities in the Lowlands, one near Biggar, in Lanarkshire, and the other near Torpichen, in West Lothian, where, within the memory of the past and present generation, living cows have been sacrificed for curative purposes, or under the hope of arresting the murrain in other members of the herd. In both these cases the cow was sacrificed by being buried alive.

In the Record Office, Vol. cxxiv., No. 74, under date 1589, is a letter from one Price giving information of gross idolatry in Wales. He says that bullocks were offered to idols, and that he saw a young man drive one through a little porch into the churchyard, and heard him cry out, "Thy half to God and to Beyno." This was in the parish of Clynnog, about fifteen miles from Bangor. He represents people as being afraid to cut down trees growing on Beyno's ground, lest he should kill them.

Sir J. Emerson Tennant, writing in 1852, notes that in Lord Rodin's recently published book, entitled "Progress of the Reformation in Ireland," there appears a curious form of fetishism still existing in Inniiskea, an island off the coast of Mayo, with about three hundred and eighty inhabitants, amongst whom his lordship says:—"A stone carefully wrapped in flannel is brought out at certain periods to be adored, and when a storm arises, this god is supplicated to send a wreck on their coast. It is added that whenever the aid of this stone god is sought, a flannel dress is dedicated to it. This is sewed on by an old woman, its priestess.

The following is a curious instance of the survival, in a fashion, of the ancient Baal worship. A correspondent to *Notes and Queries* states that the late Lady Baird, of Ferntower, Perthshire, told him that every year on the first of May a number of men and women assemble at a Druidical circle of stones on her property at Crieff. They

light a fire in the centre, and each person puts a bit of oat cake into a shepherd's bonnet; they all sit down, and draw blindfold a piece of cake from the bonnet. One piece has been previously blackened, and whoever gets that piece has to jump through the fire or pay a forfeit. This is, in fact, a remnant still surviving of the ancient worship of Baal, and the person on whom the lot fell would originally have been burnt as a sacrifice. Now, passing through the fire is taken to represent such a sacrifice, and the payment of the forfeit is considered as the redemption of the victim from the extreme penalty.

In a letter which I received some years ago from the Rector of Charlcombe, Bath, and which is now before me, he told me that in the County Donegal it was the custom to pass an infant across the back and under the belly of a donkey in order to avert measles. What the origin of this could be I am unable to guess. He further stated in his letter that in the same county the peasants used to drive their cattle between two fires to keep off disease. This last, said my correspondent, was certainly a remnant of the ancient heathen festival of Baal, or Baal Tinné (in that parish there was a town land, Beltany, close to which was a Druidical stone circle), kept about December 23, when large bonfires were lighted for purposes of fire-worship, and cattle driven through or between the fires to keep them safe from plague.

The following paragraph appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on June 29, 1867:—

"The accounts given by the Irish newspapers of the extent to which the old superstition of fire-lighting on Midsummer Eve still prevails show how slowly the relics of paganism disappear among country people, and how natural it was that the old idolatries should come at last to be known as the Creed of the Pagana, the dwellers in villages. These Midsummer fires lighted annually upon the hills are simply relics of the worship of Bel. Beltane or Belteine day is still a May day or Midsummer festival in the more ignorant districts of Scotland as well as of Ireland; and similar superstitious practices are connected with the lighting of the fires, and, what is still more remarkable, the word is still used in some Scotch almanacs as a term well known to everybody. In a number of the *Scotsman* a few years ago appeared an announcement that, on Beltane-day, Mr. Robertson was elected as Convener of the Trades, in Canongate, in Edinburgh. The next year the following is to be found:—'On Beltane-day, the

weavers, dyers, &c., of the Canongate elected their office-bearers."

Mr. Charles Hardwick, in his "Traditions, Superstitions, and Folk-lore," gives some instances of the strange survival of Baal-worship. He cites the following from Grimm:—"In consequence of a disease amongst the black cattle, the people agreed to perform an incantation, though they esteemed it a wicked thing. They carried to the top of Carnmoor a wheel and nine spindles, long enough to produce fire by friction. If the fire were not produced before noon, the incantation lost its effect. They failed for several days running. They attributed this failure to the obstinacy of one householder, who would not let his fires be put out for what he considered a wrong purpose. However, by bribing his servants, they contrived to get them extinguished, and on that morning raised their fire. They then sacrificed a heifer, cutting in pieces and burning, while yet alive, the diseased part. They then lighted their own hearths from the pile, and ended by feasting on the remains. Words of incantation were repeated by an old man from Morven, who came as master of the ceremonies, and continued speaking all the time the fire was being raised. Asked to repeat the spell, he said that the sin of repeating it once had brought him to beggary, and that he dared not say those words again."

Another curious instance of these pagan survivals is given by Mr. Hardwick on the authority of Mr. T. T. Wilkinson, who states that a Lancashire man whom he knew had "unconsciously resorted to the old worship of Baal, and consumed a live calf in a fire, in order to counteract the influence of his unknown enemies." It would appear that this unhappy victim of malice had resorted to this heathen sacrifice as a last resource, for he had, as we are told, previously nailed horse-shoes to all his doors, but without effect!

So late as the latter portion of last century the records of the Presbytery of Dingwall, in Ross-shire, show that in the island of Innis Maree, in Loch Maree, bulls were offered up as a sacrifice, and milk offered on the hill-side as a libation. A hundred years previously, i.e., in 1678, the Presbytery took action against some of the Mackenzie family for "sacrificing a bull in a heathenish manner in the island of St. Rufus, for the recovery of the health of Cirstane MacKenzie, who was formerly sick and valetudinarian." And to come down almost to the present time, we are told by Mr. Robert Hunt in his "Drolls, Traditions, and Super-

stitions of Old Cornwall," published in 1865, that within the last few years a calf has been thus sacrificed by a farmer in a district where churches, chapels, and schools abound. He afterwards adds, "While correcting these sheets I am informed of two recent instances of this superstition. One of them was the sacrifice of a calf by a farmer near Pontreath for the purpose of removing a disease which had long followed his horses and cows. The other was the burning of a living lamb to save, as the farmer said, his flock from spells which had been cast on 'em."

After these instances—which I suspect might be even termed revelations to the majority of the readers of this paper—showing the extent to which the survival of heathen sacrifices has reached in quite modern times, it seems the natural thing to consider the question of popular religious superstitions. But, as a preface to that part of our inquiry, an instance or two illustrative of the ignorance which still exists in country places upon religious matters may be useful.

The following has been sent me. A clergyman was appointed to a benefice some twenty years ago, where matters connected with the Church had been conducted in a very rough and ready style. When the first great Festival occurred he was naturally anxious that the parish church should be decorated with some sort of taste, in place of having sprigs of evergreens poked in anywhere. Thus, round the font was placed a legend in Old English letters—perhaps not very easy for the rustics to decipher—"One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism." It so happened that there were three large landowners in the parish, and the old clerk, who had regarded the whole proceeding with suspicion as an encroachment upon his province, said, pointing to the font, "Well, at any rate, the squires will like that." The words were read to him. "O?" (he replied) "I thought it was 'One L., one F., one S.,"' mentioning each of the landed proprietors by name.

It is difficult to conceive anything more directly illustrative of the principles of popular Protestantism than this. Even in a church the first idea was the glorification of the parochial notabilities; the last was the possibility of the decoration of the font relating to God, and His revelation and glory.

The next illustration is even more telling. About the middle of this century a church was built in a certain parish which had over-

grown the accommodation provided by the old church. The donor of the new building was a pious retired tradesman who by diligence had amassed a considerable fortune. We will call him at random, Isaac Starkey. On the altar was a frontal bearing the sacred monogram I. H. S. There was a good deal of interest excited by the new church, and when it was opened a number of people went to see it. Among these was a lady of high social position. After looking round the interior of the building, and admiring this and that, she said, "Yes, the general effect is very nice, but there is one thing that I don't like." Looking towards the east end she added, "It was rather ostentatious of Mr. Starkey to put his initials in so prominent a place, and I didn't know that he had any other Christian name besides Isaac."

After this example of ignorance, which I believe is strictly true, my readers will have no difficulty in accepting what I have to relate about

POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS,

which have remained as relics of past ages.

The following appeared in a Welsh magazine about thirty years ago, and I am indebted to the Rev. D. Silvan Evans, of Llanwrin Rectory, Machynlleth, for the translation :—

Down to the last hundred years it was usual in many a district in Wales to burn candles in the parish church on the eve of All Souls, with a view of ascertaining what fortune would happen to the inquirers during the succeeding twelve months. These, consisting for the most part of young women, resorted after dark to the church, each carrying a candle with her. At the appointed hour all the candles were lighted by the sexton, whose presence and services on the occasion were considered indispensable.

The act of lighting the candles was accompanied by every expression of gravity and earnestness, and the young women watched with the greatest anxiety their respective candles to see how they burned. If a candle burned brightly and clearly, it augured favourably for its owner, and signified that prosperity and happiness would be her lot. If it burned slowly and gloomily, and in an irregular or crackling manner, then the person whose property it was would surely meet with trouble and misfortunes of various kinds. If, however, the candle went out before it had burned to the socket, then its owner was regarded as about to die

in the course of the year; and, as little doubt had they on the subject as if the Angel of Death were seen at that moment sealing her fate.

But not only did they observe the general manner in which the candles burned, or draw prognostications from the light of each as a whole, but they marked carefully how each portion burned, and these portions were supposed to represent the different parts of the year, so that they pretended to divine the various phases of their lives during the ensuing twelve months.

When the last candle was burnt out they all left the church, and, having walked two or three times round the building, they proceeded homewards to bed without uttering a single word to any one. Not a syllable was to be spoken from the time of their quitting the church until they awoke on the following morning. If they had spoken to any one, the whole charm would at once have been broken, and all their labour would have been utterly lost. During their sleep on that night their lovers would appear to them, even those whom they should wed when the time was fulfilled which had been foretold by the Fates.

It is this custom which Ellis Wynne refers to in his "*Visions of the Sleeping Bard*," first published in 1703.

Sometimes these candle divinations were attended with melancholy, and occasionally with ludicrous results.

Once in a church at Llangian, near Pwllheli, where my informant was curate for ten years, the candle of a young woman from the neighbourhood happened to go out when it was only half burnt. She implicitly accepted the omen, and took the whole affair to heart so much that she would not be comforted, and in less than three weeks she was a corpse.

In the same church, on a similar occasion, the following occurrence took place :— When all the diviners were in church, and all the candles on the point of burning out, a wag from the village resolved to go and frighten the credulous women. Accordingly he dressed himself in a white sheet, and proceeded, under cover of the darkness, towards the church door. The ground outside was much higher than the floor of the church, to reach which it was necessary to descend two or three steps. Having arrived at the door, the man leaned his back against it, that he might be prepared to encounter the women on their egress. The door was unfastened, and yielded to the weight of his person, and backwards he tumbled with a heavy crack into the church. If the divin-

ing women were terrified, much more was he himself, and hurt too. The bruises which he received from his fall compelled him to keep his bed for several weeks afterwards, and the annals of the village do not tell us that he ever repeated his experiment.

In some districts it was usual to observe these ceremonies on the eves of the parish festivals or wakes, instead of All Saints' Eve, and on these occasions the women sometimes offered a few pence to the patron Saint.

Having spoken of the village "Wake," it may be well to state here that originally it was held on the day of the Saint to whom the church was dedicated, but as those festivities were often badly conducted, Convocation passed an Act in 1536 to restrain them, and to diminish their number. The Dedication Festival was ordered to be observed only on the first Sunday in October. Hence the severance of the Wake from the day of the patron Saint. Upon this subject reference may be made to Hazlitt's edition of Brand, vol. iii. 3. In illustration of this, the Rev. A. Atkinson, Vicar of Audlem, Cheshire, has written as follows: "Our Saint's Day is St. James' (July 25), but our village Wake is held early in October, 'Wake Sunday' being that nearest to October 2, and the Wake is held on the week following."

The same gentleman who was kind enough to send me the account of the divination by candles, related above, has also told me that in some parts of Wales there is a strange idea prevailing amongst the people that if a person goes alone to the church door just before midnight on the last night of the year, and puts his ear to the keyhole, a voice from within will inform him of the principal occurrences which will take place in the parish in the course of the year which is about to begin. These will chiefly relate to marriages and deaths. Should he take anybody with him when he goes to listen, no revelation will be made to him.

In the parish of Marston St. Lawrence, Northamptonshire, there used to be a notion, very prevalent, that rainwater collected on Holy Thursday was of powerful efficacy in all diseases of the eyes.

Another curious idea in connection with Ascension Day was related by a correspondent to the *Echo* newspaper of May 24, 1879. He wrote as follows:—

"On Thursday (Ascension Day) the Bethesda Slate Quarries were entirely closed, not, however, out of respect to the religious character of the day, but in deference to a superstition which has lingered

for many years amongst the Penrhyn quarrymen, that working on Ascension Day was sure to be attended with a fatality or accident of a serious character. Some six years back, the management succeeded in partly overcoming this feeling, and several of the men worked, an arrangement which was continued about two years. Strange to say, there was always an accident, and Ascension Day continues to be an idle day so far as the Penrhyn quarrymen are concerned."

Most people have heard, by tradition, of the divination by Bible and Key. Here is a curious instance mentioned by a correspondent to *Notes and Queries*, who wrote from Godalming:—"When any article is supposed to have been stolen, a Bible is produced, and opened at the first chapter of Ruth. The stock of the street door key is placed on the sixteenth verse of the above chapter, the handle protruding from the edge of the Bible, and the key is secured in this position by a string bound tightly round the book. The person who works the charm then places his two middle fingers under the handle of the key, and this keeps the Bible suspended. He then repeats in succession the names of the persons suspected of the theft, quoting at each name a portion of the verse on which the key is placed, beginning 'Whither thou goest I will go,' &c. When the name of the guilty person is pronounced, the Key turns off the finger, and the Bible falls to the ground. Thus, the guilt of the supposed thief is determined. The belief of some of the more ignorant of the lower orders in this charm is unbounded. I have seen" (says the writer) "this practised in other counties, the key being placed over Proverbs xix. 5."

In Brand's book (ed. Ellis) it is stated that the key was placed upon Psalm cl.

The Vicar of Godalming has told me that he has not heard of any such custom in his parish; but yet I have no right to suppose that the usage may not have been as stated by the writer quoted above.

Somewhat akin to this is a custom which used to be common in Suffolk, and which possibly exists in out of the way places still. On New Year's Eve it was the practice to open a Bible at midnight, and to stick a pin into the page at haphazard. The verse indicated by the pin was supposed to show whether the experimenter would have good or bad luck during the incoming year.

We will now pass on to consider the popular superstitions which cluster round the Holy Eucharist.

Mr. Henderson says that a belief in the

efficacy of the Sacred Species in the Eucharist for the cure of bodily disease is widely spread throughout the North. A clergyman has informed him that he knows of one Element having been secreted for that purpose, and that he has found it necessary to watch persons who appeared to have such an intention.

Compare with this the following Rubric in Edw. VI.'s First Prayer Book :—

" And although it be redde in auncient writers that the people many yeares past received at the Priestes handes the Sacrament of the Body of Christ in theyr owne handes, and no commandment of Christ to the contrary : Yet forasmuche as they many tymes conveyehed the same secreteley awaie, kept it with them, and diversly abused it to supersticion and wickednes : lest any suche thyng hereafter shoule be attempted, and that an uniformitie might be used throughoute the whole Realme : it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the Sacrament of Christes body, in their mouthes, at the Priestes bande."

A Herefordshire clergyman tells me that he recently had a request from a dissenter for what the applicant called "A Sacrament Shilling"—i.e., a shilling given during the offertory at Holy Communion—to buy a ring to cure a girl of fits. The shilling was to be paid for in coppers.

To show how widely spread this idea was, yet with a slight variation in the matter of practical detail, we will go to Lincolnshire. The vicar of a parish in that county has told me that he was once asked by a woman, who was a Primitive Methodist, to give her a shilling of "Sacrament Money" (as she called it) in exchange for another shilling, because her son had epileptic fits, and she had heard that if a "Sacrament piece of silver" were hung round his neck it would cure him.

From the East of England we will turn Westwards. The late Colonel Bagnall, when he was churchwarden of West Bromwich, told me, some ten years ago, that there, until quite lately, it was the custom for rheumatic people to apply to the vicar for a "Sacrament shilling" to rub on the limb where the pain was in order to cure it.

In Hampshire also, writes Mr. F. M. Middleton, the country people believe that a healing power exists in the alms collected at the Holy Communion.

One more instance from a place far distant from the last. A lady residing near Shrewsbury has written to me to say that she remembers a woman, a churchwoman this time, I presume, whose child was afflict-

ed with fits, coming to her and saying that if the parson would but give her a "Sacrament shilling" it would cure him directly. She would make a hole in it, and hang it round his neck, and he would never have another fit.

To pass on to other supposed curative agencies. It is probable that the following usage will be new to most of my readers.

In one of the principal towns in Yorkshire at the beginning of the present century, it was the practice of persons in what is called a "respectable" class of life to take their children when afflicted with whooping-cough to a neighbouring convent, where the priest allowed them to drink a small quantity of Holy Water out of a silver chalice which the little sufferers were forbidden to touch. This was regarded as a remedy by Roman Catholic and Protestant parents alike.

Mr. Henderson tells us of a piece of one of the statues on the west front of Exeter Cathedral having been knocked off within the last thirty years or so. This was in order that the stone might be pounded up and mixed with lard to make an ointment for the supposed cure of sores. It was called "Peter's Stone," and a man is known to have walked from Teignmouth, a distance of eighteen miles at least, and to have flung stones at the figures until he brought down the arm of one of them in order to get the stone for the above purpose.

A somewhat similar piece of credulous Vandalism formerly took place in the church of Penmynydd in connection with a fourteenth century tomb of alabaster. The relic has been seriously damaged by the inhabitants who believe that portions of it, when ground, were good for sore eyes.

Here is another instance. At Clynnog church, in the diocese of Bangor, there is a chapel dedicated to St. Benno, the founder, to which attaches the belief that the powdered scrapings of the stone columns are efficacious as a sovereign remedy in cases of eye disease. A pinch of this powder is added to a bottle of spring water, and thus a collyrium is made which is duly applied with all faith in its healing virtues.

Some kind friend has sent me a cutting from *Notes and Queries*, but has merely mentioned that it appeared in 1882. As I have not the volume at hand I cannot give the exact reference. It relates to a bit of Surrey Church Folk-lore in connection with a supposed remedy for shingles.

The writer says that the other day he inquired of his farm man the reason of the

carter's boy's absence. The man replied, "He has got the shingles, and I have told his father to get the coomb (as he pronounced it) off the church bells, and rub the boy with it. They say it is the best thing for it." He then added, "If the shingles meets all round you it's most sure to kill you." The writer expresses his regret that the father did not follow the advice, but cured the boy with the more commonplace remedy of ink. The comb, as the farm bailiff called it, is a sort of secretion of moss which gathers on old bells when they are exposed to damp.

I believe that I am correct in saying that, as a matter of fact, the shingles, though a troublesome malady, never do entirely compass the body of the person who is attacked by them; and even if they did, I cannot see that any serious mischief would be likely to ensue.

A lady at Torquay, who has been good enough to send me some valuable notes relative to Church Folk-lore, has told me that at Morchard Bishop, in North Devon, a cup of dew collected in the churchyard on May morning, was formerly thought good for a person in consumption. She remembers an instance in which it was obtained and applied.

In a former paper mention was made of the custom in the North of England of carrying round "Advent Images." These dressed dolls were surrounded with evergreen leaves, and everybody to whom the figures were shown was allowed to take a leaf. This was carefully preserved, and was regarded as a sovereign remedy for toothache.

Among curative superstitions the well-known touching for the king's evil holds an important place. The Rev. A. N. Bull, of Woollavington, tells me that in the vestry of King's Langley, Hertfordshire, is a genuine printed certificate of a man having been touched for the king's evil. This is framed and hung up. He adds that at Barway, in the parish of Soham, Cambridgeshire, the service which used to be employed at the ceremony is bound up with the Church Prayer Book.

THE BRIGGS CASE AS NOW PENDING.

BY OSWALD PRENTISS BACKUS.

From *The Evangelist* (Pres.), September 8, 1892.

THE action of the late General Assembly in the disposition of the case of the Presby-

terian Church in the United States *vs.* Rev. C. A. Briggs, D.D., was very unfortunate. It is calculated to impress all unprejudiced minds with the conviction that the court of last resort in the Presbyterian Church is incapable of performing the judicial functions conferred upon it by the Constitution of the Church in any case of discipline in which the principle involved is the subject of controversy to a considerable extent. Waiving the consideration of the questions of the propriety of entertaining an appeal directly to the Assembly, the effect of a complaint to Synod operating as a stay, etc., let me direct your attention to the status of the case in the Presbytery, in the General Assembly after the appeal had been entertained, and the possible and only proper disposition of it upon the record.

Upon the return of the citation issued against Dr. Briggs, he was arraigned to plead to the charges and specifications which had been placed upon the files, and pursuant to Section 22 of the Book of Discipline, he filed objections to the sufficiency of the charges and specifications in form and legal effect.

The objections so filed would be more properly termed a demurrer. The issue created by the interposition of this instrument was one of law. The only judgment that could have been rendered upon the issue joined was the one entered, i.e., dismissing the charges, or a decision that the charges were sufficient and a direction to the accused to plead guilty or not guilty. No particular form of objections is prescribed by the Book of Discipline. Matters of argument and statements relating to the merits, while they may be irrelevant, cannot prejudice the defendant.

The Prosecuting Committee appealed to the General Assembly from the judgment of the Presbytery of New York, and in their appeal made twenty-five specifications of error. The Presbytery having dismissed the charges upon an issue of law duly joined, there were only two questions that could have been by any possibility properly presented to the General Assembly for review by the appellants. One question, and really the only one, was whether or not the charges and specifications were sufficient in form and legal effect. If the charges and specifications were sufficient, and the appellants had alleged their sufficiency as a ground of error, the General Assembly might have properly reversed the judgment and remanded the cause. If the charges and specifications were, however, insufficient, or if the appellants did not assert their sufficiency in

the specification of errors, then nothing could be legally done by the General Assembly but to affirm the judgment or dismiss the appeal. The only other reviewable question would have been an error committed by the Presbytery in refusing an application to amend the charges. The power to amend defective charges under Section 22 of the Book of Discipline is a discretionary one, and a decision refusing to allow an amendment ought not to be reviewed unless the discretionary power has been abused. A perusal of the specifications of error will disclose the fact that the Prosecuting Committee did not assert the sufficiency of the charges and specifications as a ground of error in the dismissal of the case. They did allege in them that the Presbytery committed an error in refusing to allow them to be amended, but the record itself shows that the Presbytery was not applied to for an amendment, and consequently one was not refused. The only time the subject of an amendment was referred to, was in the argument of Prof. Stevenson, in the course of which he said that they could "be amended without the slightest possible difficulty," but made no motion to that effect. The remaining twenty-four specifications were matters which could only arise upon a trial of an issue of fact raised by the plea of not guilty, and were wholly irrelevant upon an appeal from a judgment entered upon an issue of law.

Assuming it to be a fact as claimed by the appellants, that many members of the judicatory were prejudiced in favor of Dr. Briggs; that they were impressed with his innocence because of his assertions of devotion to the Standards of the Church; that members of the judicatory asserted his innocence in debate; that the Presbytery decided the issue of law for reasons wholly untenable,—none of these can be alleged as grounds of error upon an appeal from a judgment entered upon an issue of law. The question upon such an appeal can only be, *Was the issue properly disposed of?* not, What were the reasons of the court for so deciding?

I have yet to learn of a court of justice that has reversed a judgment upon such an issue because a lower court gave a wrong reason for its decision, or because of its manifest prejudice for or against a party. Cases are of frequent occurrence in the civil courts where judges decide questions of law and deliver opinions which are overruled on appeal by the appellate courts, the latter sustaining the judgment of the lower courts in the disposition of issues of law upon

other grounds. The absurdity of sending back a case arising upon demurrer, after assuming the jurisdiction to review it without debating or considering the question of whether the demurrer was or was not well taken, distinguishes the Assembly of 1892 from all appellate judicatories, civil and ecclesiastical, yet heard from!

From the judgment of reversal the Presbytery of New York will gain no clue as to the course of procedure desired by the General Assembly. The form of the judgment is properly applicable only upon the reversal of a judgment rendered upon a trial after an issue of fact has been joined. The proper form of remittitur, upon a reversal of the judgment in question, would have been "objections overruled and judgment reversed and the cause remanded and defendant directed to plead to the charges upon the merits." *As it is, the defendant has the undoubted right to reargue the objections, and the Presbytery may with propriety and without subjecting itself to the charge of exhibiting disrespect to a superior judicatory sustain them, force the Committee to appeal again, and thus compel the next General Assembly to decide the questions involved in a proper manner.*

All loyal Presbyterians should join in an endeavor to compel the judicatories of the Church to **LIVE UP TO ITS LAWS**, otherwise one accused of an offence in the future would better walk out of the fold before he would be unceremoniously and illegally kicked out by a law-ignoring majority. A justice of the Supreme Court of New York recently remarked that it would have been well had the General Assembly been favored with the presence of a few lawyers to direct its proceedings in obedience to the laws of the Church. As a matter of fact, there was a considerable number present, some of whom remained silent for the reason given me by an Indiana lawyer (not at all in sympathy with Dr. Briggs). Said she: "The only question here was the sufficiency or insufficiency of the charges. The subject has not been referred to. I intended to bring it up, but a favorable opportunity was wanting, and I concluded it to be a useless task in the temper of the Assembly." Section 99 of the Book of Discipline provides that after hearing the parties and the members of the judicatory appealed from, "opportunity shall be given to the members of the superior judicatory to be heard."

Dr. Patterson very correctly remarked that this provision was intended to give that opportunity for consultation and deliberation which is always taken advantage of by

the members of a civil court before deciding a case. The majority seemed to feel as I once heard a member of a political convention express himself : " We don't want any talk. We have got the votes and know what we are after. What is the use of wasting time." The majority of the Assembly could not have spoken the same sentiments plainer than it did, when the rule was adopted limiting the number of speakers to twelve, at five minutes apiece, and then left it to the acrobats of the Assembly to get the floor.

Had the sufficiency of the charges been fully considered, and without reference to the parties to the litigation, a decision might have been arrived at which would have been a credit to the Assembly and the Church, and formed a very useful precedent for future cases of the same character. As it is, the time consumed in the taking and disposition of this appeal has been worse than wasted.

The Constitution of the Church ought to be amended so as to require the General Assembly to refer all questions of law to a Judicial Commission, the Commission to file with its decisions written reasons for the disposition of each case ; the action of the Commission to be final. Such a provision would ensure deliberation and deliver the Church from the decrees of ecclesiastical mobs.

THE REVISION OVERTURES.

From The Evangelist (Pres.), September 8, 1892.

THE present month will witness the beginning of the discussion of the Revision overtures by the Presbyteries. Final and complete action will doubtless not be taken until the spring, but some progress will be made in that direction in the meetings that will occur during this and the next month. As a result of informal conferences of friends of Revision last May at Portland, we learn that a number of strong and influential pastors and elders scattered through the Synods are engaged in the preparation of an "Open Letter" to the Church, proposing that Overture 3 of the Report be negatived, and that Presbyteries overture for the entire elimination of Sec. 7, Chap. III., of which it is an attempted revision.

Coupled with this may be the further suggestion that there be added to Chapter III. the substance of the amendment originating with the late Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke, and since desired in one form or another by

over one sixth of the Presbyteries, 38 out of 216. The list includes, we observe, such Presbyteries as Baltimore, as to the use in some part of the Confession of the phrase "propitiation sufficient for the world" (Rom. iii. 22-25 ; 1 John ii. 2), and Athens, Bellefontaine, Cayuga, Cedar Rapids, Cincinnati, Champlain, Detroit, Erie, and so on down the list to Washington City, as to inserting the explanatory amendment in Chapter III. (See "Answers of the Presbyteries," 1890, and "Action of the Presbyteries," 1892.)

We notice that a goodly number of the brethren proposing to unite in the aforementioned letter were formerly (Minutes of 1865) connected with the Old School branch of the Church. One of these writes as follows : " Every month which has elapsed," since the decision at Saratoga, May, 1890, "has added to the strength of the Revision movement in the Church, and has widened the limits within which Revision could safely be demanded."

In passing, we would say that in the same volume of minutes we recognize the names of upwards of thirty living men who in 1889-90 were strong advocates of Revision, and of these at least ten were especially active with their pens in promoting the progress of the movement.

The Church of our day believes in a foreordination that includes in the decree the free agency of man ; that takes full and hearty cognizance of the fact that God in His Word calls upon "all men everywhere to repent," just as the Saviour taught that "men ought always to pray." *Foreordination in Scripture is a workable doctrine.* It interferes with the freedom of action of no human being. We of the present day realize this, perhaps, in a more matter-of-fact, practical manner than did our forefathers.

The doctrine is just as mysterious and unfathomable as ever it was, but we recognize more vividly now the co-existence, so to speak, of divine Sovereignty with human freedom, and the Church is in consequence filled with an unquenchable enthusiasm and courage in her endeavor to subdue the world to Christ. We believe, in a whole-souled, earnest way, the word of Paul, that every Christian is a "laborer together with God." Like a golden thread we see the principle running through the entire Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

The proposition, therefore, to incorporate in the third chapter of the Confession a brief statement of the belief now so strong and positive that the decree of God does not hinder men from repentance and faith, and

thus from salvation, seems to us altogether sensible and wise. We greatly hope that the effort to unite the Presbyteries with considerable unanimity in favor of a brief substitute for Sec. 7, Chap. III., such as proposed by the Presbyteries of Athens, Cayuga, Champlain, Detroit, Milwaukee, New York, Erie, and others, may be successful. Only thus, as it seems to us, can this portion of the Confession be brought into vital accord with the general belief, the preaching, and the practice of our Church to-day.

CHRISTOCENTRIC THEOLOGY AND BELIEF.

From *The Christian Intelligencer* (Dutch Ref.), New York, May 18, 1892.

It is frequently asserted that the faith of the Church and its theological teaching has centred more and more in the person of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, during recent years. The assertion passes unchallenged, yet it is doubtful whether it is supported by facts. It is also doubtful whether, so far as it may be true, the Christocentric tendency is in conformity with the Scriptures.

Do the faith of the Church—the unwritten creed, the preaching, the literature of evangelical bodies, give greater prominence and a larger place to the person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ than did those of twenty-five or forty years ago? We doubt it. Our recollections do not favor the opinion now current and often expressed in discussions spoken or written. We also doubt whether the Christological theory, called for in many quarters, is more in agreement with the course, spirit and tendency of Revelation than was the theology of half a century ago, and of even a much longer time in the past.

A basis of judgment may be found in the preaching of the present time. If, then, that preaching be compared with that of the Puritan divines and their evangelical contemporaries, it will, perhaps, be found difficult to prove that at the present time the person and work of the Redeemer are more conspicuous and dominant. Is the Lord Jesus presented now as He was as the Prophet, Priest and King of the Church, and of every man who will receive Him as his Saviour? Has not such a method of presenting Jesus Christ been abandoned as antiquated, is it not regarded as dogmatic, technical, cold and not adapted to the times? Yet such a presentation of

the Son of God and Son of Man meets human wants, and affords a substantial foundation for an intelligent, sustaining and conquering faith. It is certainly Scriptural. Men need a prophet who is an infallible preacher, who knows all things, in whom are the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge, to guide them through the perplexities of life. They need as much a priest who offers for them a sufficient sacrifice to atone for their sins, and offers an ever prevalent intercession in their behalf before the throne of the universe. They need no less a king of almighty power and infinite resources to deliver and help them in time of need, to support and defend them day by day, to overcome and rule over their enemies, spiritual and temporal. When the Lord Jesus was set forth in these three offices men felt that their needs were provided for richly and abundantly. It is undeniable that from thousands of the pulpits of the present day the Redeemer and Lord is not exhibited to the pews in this threefold official relation. Is a satisfactory substitute declared? So far as our experience extends, it is not. We do not believe that the Saviour occupies as large a place in the preaching of to-day, that He is as often spoken of and preached about as was the case forty years, or as long ago as the time of the Puritan divines.

The fact is, notwithstanding the reiterated assertions to the contrary, in the sermons, in printed theological and religious books of the present time, the person and work of the Lord and Saviour are not treated as fully, as definitely, as richly, as they were by divines of two hundred years ago and more. It is also true that in constancy and fulness of treatment of these evangelical themes the pulpit of forty or fifty years ago excelled the pulpit of to-day.

But, grant that there is more of a disposition to-day than there was fifty years or two centuries ago to make theology Christocentric, and the question arises, Is the tendency in conformity with the Scriptures? Our reply to such an inquiry is, that in not a few instances it is not only not in agreement with the Scriptures at large, but is also in antagonism to the words of Jesus Christ Himself. How often He said, "I came not to do my own will, but the will of the Father who sent me," or words equivalent to these. Is it necessary to quote texts and passages in which our Lord places Himself in this subordinate position? The testimony of the Scriptures from first to last is, that God the Father selected, anointed and sent the Messiah, sustained Him in His

work, and at last accepted Him as the Saviour and mediator of men. And this the Lord and Saviour constantly insisted on in His addresses to men. When the toil and suffering were ended, when He had triumphed over death and the grave, why did He say, "Touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to my Father," if He was not the Messiah chosen and sent by God the Father?

It has always been held that Revelation in one sense centres in Jesus Christ, that the Old Testament foretells Him and the New Testament declares Him as having come among men and accomplished redemption. Is that belief in any degree more prevalent to-day than it was fifty, or one hundred, or even two hundred years ago? In what have the theologies of to-day become more Christocentric than were those of the past? But we must make our doctrine of decrees more Christological than is that of the old creeds, some stoutly maintain. How is that to be done? "I and my Father are one," declares the Son of God. A Divine decision is a decision of the Triune God. Moreover, the Lord Jesus in supplication speaks to God of those "Thou hast given me;" and He asserts, "No man can come unto me, except the Father who hath sent me draw him." The Lord Jesus asserts His dependence upon the decision and action of God the Father. This subordination is, indeed, voluntary, but our Lord is in this position from the beginning to the end of the Word of God. He is in this position in order that He may be the Redeemer of men. If, then, theology is to be Christology and not theology, how is it to be squared with the entire testimony of Revelation?

Still another question may be asked, namely, Is the Christian life of to-day animated by a stronger, a more ardent loyalty to Jesus Christ than was that of half a century or a century ago? If so, where or how is it manifested? The men carefully instructed in the Westminster Catechism, as was the habit fifty and more years ago, in loyalty to Christ left their large congregations, their parsonages, and founded the Free Church of Scotland. The act in heroism and self-denial for Christ's sake, in devotion to Him, in assertion and maintenance of His lordship over the Church, has not been surpassed by any deed of this generation of Christians, and it may be said, has not been equalled by the men of to-day. It was also a sublime act of faith in Christ. Yet the Westminster Confession is especially offensive to the men of this day who claim to be especially Christocentric and Christological in their faith.

But there has been a change in current opinion and in the practice of the Church. What are its characteristics? Are they not first, a neglect of the justice of God; and second, a neglect of the election of God? The justice of God, the supremacy and the purposes of God are not simply put in the background, but are put out of sight almost altogether. We are Christocentric in order to obscure the Divine righteousness and sovereignty. We desire to fill the whole field of view with the person of the Saviour portrayed not in strict conformity with the descriptions of Revelation, in order to shut out the Righteous Ruler of the Universe and the supremacy of His will. In doing this the Christ, the Divinely anointed Messiah, is presented in an attitude which in part is not that of the Messiah of prophecy and its fulfilment. And we go farther, and substitute Christian consciousness for Divine Revelation, or make Christian consciousness the judge of Divine Revelation. Consistency requires this. And some of the Christian consciousness of the day is equal to getting rid of a great deal that is clearly declared in Revelation.

We do not believe that the faith and teaching of the Church to-day is in truth more Christocentric than it has been in the past. We do not believe that there is a stronger or more abiding faith in Jesus Christ than there was fifty or one hundred or two hundred years ago. We do not believe that there is a more heroic and self-denying loyalty to Christ, obedient at all hazards, in the men of this generation, than there was in those who have preceded us.

PROF. BRIGGS ON MODERATOR YOUNG.

From *The Presbyterian Journal*, Philadelphia, September 8, 1892.

PROF. BRIGGS, in his latest pamphlet, appends to the reproduction of the report of the discussion in the General Assembly on the question of voting on the entertainment of the Appeal in his case, the following comments; which we give here that our criticism may be the better understood:

It is manifest from this report that no debate was allowed upon the question whether the Appeal should be entertained, and that the Moderator influenced the vote by unjust decisions which he had no right to make. The Moderator had the right to determine questions of order; but he had

no right to determine constitutional questions, or to give his opinion of the proper course of procedure under the constitution. And yet the Moderator (1) gave his opinion that the vote should be taken after hearing the parties, without debate. He then gave his opinions on other parts of the subject, but allowed no one else to do so.

(2) The Moderator gave his decision that if the Appeal was sustained by the General Assembly it was "in the province of the Assembly either to go on with the trial upon its merits, or refer the whole case back to the Presbytery of New York." This decision he changed at a later date, but not until after the vote had been taken to entertain the Appeal. Doubtless many voted to entertain the Appeal because they thought that the case might be tried on its merits at the General Assembly, and the Moderator, by his erroneous decision, influenced their votes.

(3) The Moderator decided that if the Assembly declined to entertain the Appeal, "it ends the case in the Presbytery." This was an erroneous decision, for the Assembly had the power to send the Appeal to the Synod for trial, and that is exactly what the minority report proposed. Mr. Black said that "Some of us on constitutional grounds may be willing to dismiss this Appeal, and yet may be willing to have it tried." The Moderator's decision influenced all such to vote in favor of entertaining the Appeal.

(4) The Moderator decided that it was not competent for the General Assembly to refer the Appeal to the Synod. This gave all the weight of his authority against the motion of the minority that the Appeal should be sent to the Synod of New York. The Moderator was obliged to change this decision when his attention was called to a precedent in the Digest of Presbyterian Law. But this recantation was made during the taking of the vote after he had decided the *viva voce* vote, and just before a second vote was taken on the call for a division. Thus a serious wrong was done by the Moderator to the motion offered by the minority of the Judicial Committee.

These four unjust and unconstitutional decisions of the Moderator went far to determine the vote, especially as all debate on the floor was prohibited. It is doubtful whether any Moderator ever made so many mistakes and did so much wrong in so short a time. The Moderator is a conservative man. He evidently endeavored to be fair and equitable, and to favor an intermediate policy. But his lack of knowledge of the constitution and law of the Church was very

unfortunate under the circumstances. The minority vote was very much greater than one could reasonably expect in view of such decisions from the Chair.

THE ANDOVER CASE.

From *The Congregationalist* (Boston), September 8, 1892.

THE hearing in the Andover case before the Board of Visitors occurred at Bartlet Chapel, Andover, Sept. 1, beginning at 11 A.M. The three members of the board, Drs. Walker and Quint and Judge Marshall, were all present, also nine of the twelve Trustees. Quite a large audience attended, among whom were the professors of the seminary and a number of clergymen.

Professor Smyth, against whom the complaint is made by the revival of the charges on which he was formerly tried of teaching contrary to the seminary creed, was represented, as formerly, by his counsel, Prof. S. E. Baldwin of the Yale law school, who first addressed the board in support of objections which had been filed against reopening the case. He claimed that the Superior Court had declared the proceedings of the Visitors in the former trial irregular and the finding against Professor Smyth null and void, and that there was nothing left to try. He also urged that the Board of Visitors had been disqualified from trying the case again by having once rendered judgment on it. The Board of Visitors, if acting in their judicial capacity to try a case and not in the exercise of their power to originate an investigation, he claimed could act only on some appeal from the decision of the Board of Trustees.

The Trustees were represented by a committee of their own number, consisting of Rev. Dr. Fiske, chairman of the Board of Trustees, Dr. Vose and Judge R. R. Bishop. Judge Bishop, in behalf of that body, argued against reopening the case from English decisions in respect to boards of visitors having jurisdiction over charitable trust funds. The complainants, he urged, had no legal standing, according to these precedents, and were not proper persons to bring complaints. Farther, the case is stale, having been begun almost seven years ago on issues which do not relate to the living present.

At the afternoon session Rev. Drs. Wellman and Lanphear, the complainants, spoke briefly. Dr. Wellman said they were without counsel because they deemed such assistance needless. He would not attempt to answer the legal arguments. The complain-

ants did not claim to have standing. They had acted from the first only by permission, authority and request of the Board of Visitors. Dr. Lanphear followed, expressing, as did Dr. Wellman, a wish to proceed at once to the theological trial. In answer to questions from the Board of Visitors, Dr. Wellman said that he, with others, had brought certain information to the notice of the Visitors, and the Visitors had required that if complaints should be pressed the complainants should themselves formulate and present definite charges. This was in explanation of his statement that he had acted by authority and request of the Visitors.

Rev. Dr. Fiske said that he was opposed to threshing over old straw. He thought it a reflection on the Visitors to imply that they were negligent unless stirred up from without. If a new trial was to occur, the other four professors originally complained of should be included in the new trial. He should like to have the Visitors investigate every department of the seminary. He believed it had never been more faithful to its trust than now.

Rev. Dr. Vose of Providence said that since the complainants had admitted that they had no standing the case should be dismissed. He regretted that the Visitors and Trustees had not had opportunity to confer over these troubles of the seminary, and that they had not was the fault of the complainants, since at their instance the Trustees had been ignored. The complainants did not represent either the Visitors, alumni, students, churches or Christian community.

At this point it was understood that argument on these preliminary questions had been concluded, and that the Board of Visitors would necessarily take some time for consideration. Some of the questions were entirely new, and all were new to members of the board who had not been members at the previous trial. To what time the hearing should be adjourned was then considered. The complainants asked that considerable time be given, as they were not ready to proceed. Dr. Wellman has but just recovered from serious illness. Dr. Lanphear suggested that the matter might be deferred till after the meeting of the American Board next month, but whether or not that was intended as a piece of pleasantry did not appear.

The Trustees asked that there should be immediate action or at least no unnecessary delay. The application to the Visitors for their further action in the case had been made last April, and the notices were served

six weeks ago. Judge Bishop stated that plans which were on foot to raise new funds for the seminary were being hindered by the revival of these disturbances. Dr. Wellman expressed his pleasure at this desire on the part of the Trustees, as it was the first time he had seen such a spirit in them for the last six years.

Professor Smyth said that he was in his thirtieth year of service in the seminary. He had grown gray in his work, but more rapidly during the last six years than ever before. He would be glad if it were thought best to have the case disposed of by further proceedings upon its merits, though he should acquiesce in a dismissal of the matter as it stands, but in any case he insisted that there should be no needless delay.

Dr. Walker announced that the board would take the matter under advisement, and the hearing was adjourned to Tuesday, Sept. 6, at the same place. The general expectation was that the board would then give its decision on the claim that the case be dismissed.

Later (by telegraph). Andover, Tuesday afternoon, Sept. 6. The Visitors dismissed the complaint on broad grounds without giving an opinion on the merits of the case.

PRESIDENT NORTHRUP ON "THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD IN PRE-DESTINATION, AS CONTAINED IN THE SYSTEM OF STRICT CALVINISM."

BY PROFESSOR ROBERT WATTS, D.D., BELFAST, IRELAND.

From *The Western Recorder* (Bapt.), Louisville, Ky., August 15, 18 and September 1, 1892.

I.

THE copies of *The (Chicago) Standard* containing Dr. Northrup's criticisms on the Calvinistic system have at length come to hand. From your account of the views propounded in the Doctor's critique, I had expected a formidable arraignment of the very foundations of Theism in a philosophical discussion respecting "the nature of God." You may imagine my surprise on finding that instead of such a discussion, the articles published in *The Standard* are simply an attack on the Calvinistic system. It is true these articles proceed upon the assumption of a particular view of the Divine nature, and involve, ultimately, the discussion of the question, "What is God?"

But I certainly had reason, from the account given me of the subject of the President's remarks, to look for a fresh, scholarly, philosophical and logical disquisition on the being and attributes of God. This, however, I now discover, the author of these articles has not attempted. Had he done so we should be in a better position to judge of the claims of the doctrinal system he espouses and of its congruity with the essential elements of Theism as set forth in the sacred Scriptures and revealed in the moral constitution of man. Nevertheless, as already stated, we may gather the author's views of the Divine attributes from the objections he urges against the leading features of the Calvinistic system.

His chief objection to the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination is, that according to it, "the perdition of a part of mankind—the non-elect—is not only certain but inevitable, let them do what they can to obtain salvation, even in the way appointed in the Gospel." One would think from the confident tone of the writer that this objection had never been heard of, or properly presented prior to the publication of these articles. As a matter of fact, however, it has figured as the most potent of all the objections urged by all classes of opponents against the Calvinistic system throughout the history of the controversy. Indeed, it is, in its substance and essence, the objection which the Apostle Paul felt called upon to meet as likely to suggest itself in opposition to the economy of grace as elaborated in his epistle to the Romans. The principle objected to is the one on which God has acted in His dealings with Israel. The apostle vindicates God against the charge of unfaithfulness toward His people by affirming that those cast away were not His people whom He *foreknew*. Not one of them has been cast away. He assures Elijah that He had, amid the all but universal apostasy of which the prophet complained, *reserved* to Himself seven thousand men who had not bowed the knee to Baal. Seizing upon this historic illustration of the principle of the Divine procedure in the administration of the covenant of grace, the apostle would have us know that the principle is regulative in the economy, and not limited to the days of Elijah. "Even so then," he adds, "*at this present time* there is a remnant according to the election of grace. And if by grace, then it is no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace; otherwise work is no more work. What then? Israel hath not obtained that which

he seeketh for; but the election (*i.e.*, the elect) hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded (according as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear) unto this day." (Romans 11.)

The doctrine propounded in this chapter is that all Israel shall be saved, and on referring to chapter 9, we find that by Israel the apostle does not mean the lineal descendants of Abraham as such. He is careful to foreclose all risks of misapprehension on this point. "They are all Israel," he says, "which are of Israel; neither because they are the seed of Abraham are they all children, but in Isaac shall thy seed be called. . . . The children of the promise are counted for the seed." The children of the promise, be it observed. That is, children yet to be, and to be brought into being by the Divine agency in the fulfillment of the Divine promise, and whose relations to the covenant were not determined by their works, as the apostle points out by referring to the cases of Jacob and Esau, but determined by the sovereign purpose of God, in order that it might be shown that the choice was "not of works, but of Him that calleth." In a word, the history of God's dealings with Israel is one continuous illustration of the very doctrine which President Northrup sets himself to challenge and to overthrow. What he calls in question God claims the right to do in His word, and, as the history of His dealings, not only with Israel, but with the entire race of man demonstrates, He does in the course of His providential administration. He claims the right to have mercy on whom He will have mercy, and compassion on whom He will have compassion, and is under no obligation to have mercy upon any, as is manifest from the fact that salvation is not of debt, but of grace. If the apostle had framed this argument for the express purpose of meeting Dr. Northrup's objection, both as regards the sovereignty of God and the claim advanced by him on behalf of human works, he could not have made the reputation more complete. It is too late in the history of God's dealings with our fallen race to allege that He could not, righteously, choose some as the subjects of His saving grace and destine others to death because of their sins. All history, sacred and secular, negatives any such assumption. He who challenges God's right to do so should cease to speak of the economy of redemption as an economy of grace. Mr. Wesley, in his "*Predestination calmly considered*," denies

that God might have justly passed by man when he fell. As an Arminian he speaks consistently with his theory, but having taken this ground, he has no right to speak of the Divine interposition as an act of grace. If God might not, in justice, have passed by man when he fell, He would have done him an injustice to have passed him by, and when, instead of passing him by, He visited him, He was simply performing toward him an act of justice. Surely it was a gross misuse of language to call such interposition an act of grace. Arminians are ever claiming that they are pre-eminently the advocates of "*free grace*," but their principles, now advanced by President Northrup, prove, to a demonstration, that the claim is absolutely destitute of warrant either in the nature of the economy or in the history of its administration.

In my next, I shall raise and discuss the question, whether the primary objections against the sovereign predestinating act of God do not involve the objector in all the difficulties urged against the Calvinistic doctrine, and lead, logically, to blank fatalism.

II.

In my article of last week, I pointed out the fact that, though President Northrup does not formally discuss the subject of "the nature of God," but, instead thereof, makes an attack on Calvinism; he, nevertheless, is constrained to assume the Arminian theory of the divine nature, which is not in harmony with the teaching of the Word of God in regard to the history of his dealings with Israel and with the whole human race. What Dr. Northrup and Mr. Wesley say God cannot do, and be just, all history, whether sacred or secular, testifies that he has done and is still doing. I have given Paul's argument in the Epistle to the Romans, but only in part. In fact, to present the argument in all its fullness were simply to re-write both Testaments, and to make drafts upon the secular history of mankind for which you have not space and for which I have not time. It is too late in the history of redemption to challenge the sovereignty of God in the choice of the vessels of mercy out of a race which are by nature children of wrath. God claims it is his prerogative in his Word, and he does it now, and ever has done it, in his providence. Let one additional testimony suffice. Having described the state of the church at Ephesus as blessed with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ, the apostle proceeds to give an account of the

economic reasons which led to their having been raised to this estate. Their elevation was not an after-thought in the divine arrangements. Those spiritual blessings had been bestowed upon them in pursuance of a purpose entertained toward them before the foundation of the world. Paul's words are as strong as any words ever written or uttered by John Calvin. "According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world that we should be holy and without blame before him in love: having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved." (Ephes. 1:3-6.)

Is there any room here for discussions such as President Northrup has raised? Can the divine sovereignty in the choice of these saints at Ephesus be called in question without calling in question the inspiration of the Apostle Paul? These saints were chosen before the foundation of the world, and the ground of this ancient choice is declared to have been simply the good pleasure of the divine will, and that they, as predestinated and adopted sons, should be to the praise of the glory of his grace. They were not chosen because of their holiness or blamelessness, but on the contrary they were chosen that they should be holy and without blame; the choice did not arise from their subjective spiritual estate, but their subjective spiritual estate was the result of the antecedent divine choice. Neither were they chosen because of their freedom from guilt, but, on the contrary, they were chosen in order that they should be made free from guilt. It was not because of their doing what they could to obtain salvation, as President Northrup puts it, that they obtained it, but it was the election, as Paul puts it, in a passage cited in my last, that obtained it. "Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded." (Rom. 11:7.) Put Israel's seeking where Dr. Northrup puts "let them do what they can to obtain salvation," and you have placed in vivid contrast the Pauline and the Arminian theories of the economy of grace. The two systems are in irreconcilable antagonism. Say what they will, the Arminians cannot reconcile their views of the ground of the divine choice of sinners of mankind to eternal life, with the uniform testimony of the sacred Scriptures, that salvation is not of works, but of grace.

But not only is this doctrine of the divine sovereignty a doctrine which gives caste and character to the economy of redemption, it is a doctrine and indeed the only doctrine in harmony with Christian experience. Will Dr. Northrup be good enough to give his readers an analysis of the experience through which a sinner passes when under conviction of sin? What does such conviction mean? Is it not a fact, that the subject of the conviction is fully persuaded that he is guilty before God, and justly exposed to the divine wrath, and that God might justly inflict upon him the dreadful penalty of the broken law? Does there ever enter as an element into his experience the idea that God might not justly pass him by, or that because of his doing what he can to obtain salvation, he is bound, in justice, to visit him in mercy and bestow upon him the salvation he seeks? We may stake the issue of the case here in controversy upon the answer which all men who have passed through the spiritual pangs of genuine conviction of sin will give to these questions. No man who has been brought by the regenerating action of the Holy Ghost to see sin in the light of God's law and justice, and to see that both the law and the justice of God demand that sin be punished, and that such punishment is his own personal desert, will venture to say that he has claims upon God to extend to him his pardoning mercy. But if this be the universal experience of Christian men, what becomes of the theory which challenges the divine sovereignty in the dispensation of divine grace toward sinners of mankind? Condemned by the testimony of Scripture, it is also condemned by the testimony of all men who have passed from death unto life, as soon as they analyze their own experience under the illumination of the Holy Ghost, and it is only by overlooking or forgetting that experience that the redeemed and regenerated can bring themselves to challenge the Calvinistic doctrine which recognizes the sovereignty of God in redemption, and claims for him, as his Word does, the right to have mercy upon whom he will have mercy, and compassion upon whom he will have compassion.

Dr. Northrup's chief objection to the divine sovereignty in predestination is, that it "necessarily implies that the eternal perdition of a part of mankind—the non-elect—is not only certain, but inevitable, do what they can to obtain salvation, even in the way appointed in the Gospel." This raises the question I promised to discuss. The question is this: Is the issue of the present economy less certain, or less inevi-

table, according to the Arminian theory than it is according to the Calvinistic? This question admits of but one answer where the omniscience of God is recognized. If Dr. Northrup denies that God sees the end from the beginning, and that known to him are all his works from the beginning, with him controversy on my part must end. If, however, he holds as Mr. Wesley, despite his Arminianism, did, as against Dr. Clarke, that God's knowledge embraces the future as well as the past history of the universe, the question forces itself upon him, Could He know that future if it were not certain and inevitable? Can God know the issue of the economy of redemption, both in regard to those who shall be saved and those who shall be lost, if it were not certain who are to be saved and who are to be lost? What, then, does the Arminian gain by rejecting the doctrine of decree? There are no degrees of certainty in regard to a matter whose eventuation is certain and known by God as certain. The certainty, therefore, is as great according to the divine omniscience as it is according to the divine decree. The Arminian, therefore, gains nothing. In my next, I shall endeavour to show that by holding to the omniscience and rejecting the divine decree he must land in blank fatalism.

III.

In my last article I pointed out the fact that the doctrine of the Divine Sovereignty, in the choice of the vessels of mercy, was as definitely stated and as emphatically affirmed in the Scriptures, as in the Calvinistic system now assailed by Dr. Northrup. I also carried an appeal in behalf of that doctrine to the bar of Christian experience, raising the question whether any one who has been thoroughly convinced of sin, had, while under such conviction, the persuasion that, despite his felt exposure to the Divine wrath, he had a claim upon the Divine mercy? Such persuasion has no place in Christian experience, and this one feature of the effect of the Spirit's work upon the soul in conversion, is fatal to the whole Arminian scheme. It is impossible to reconcile the experience of men when under conviction of sin, with the Arminian doctrine, that God might not, in justice, pass the sinner by; and the reason is that conviction of sin is persuasion of guilt, and to be persuaded of guilt is, as already stated, to be persuaded of just exposure to the wrath of God. Surely if Christian experience in the transition from death to life, is to have a voice in the decision of this turning point

in the controversy, the verdict must be the affirmation of the sovereignty of God, who instead of inflicting the merited penalty—the penalty to which the sinner himself is fully convinced he is justly exposed—extends the golden sceptre of His grace to the self-condemned culprit.

It was also pointed out in my last, that the objection urged by Arminians against the Calvinistic doctrine of the sovereignty of God in singling out the vessels of mercy, lies, with equal force, against the Arminian theory, which, while rejecting the decree of election, on the ground of the certainty of the result decreed, admits the omniscience and consequent foreknowledge of God. This is manifest, as the result is as certain according to the foreknowledge as it can be according to the decree. The chief ground of the Arminian objection to the Divine decree is, that it renders the event certain and inevitable, and when an event is certain to eventuate, it is alleged that the agent by whom it comes to pass cannot be a free agent. Of course there is nothing gained here by the Arminian who admits that God's knowledge embraces all the future history of the universe, and, beyond all peradventure, the entire issues of the economy of redemption to the minutest detail. That future history could not be known unless the events it embraces were certain to occur, and if they were certain to occur, must it not follow that the Arminian, who admits the foreknowledge of the event and, consequently, the certainty of its occurrence, has to encounter his own objection, which assumes that certainty is irreconcilable with free agency?

But further, it was intimated that whereas nothing is gained by denying the decree, and no difficulty solved or avoided by substituting for it the doctrine of the divine foreknowledge, the denial of it involves the objector in a difficulty immeasurably greater than that which he sought to escape, and which he imagined was chargeable upon the Calvinistic system alone. In a word, as intimated, by rejecting the decree while admitting the foreknowledge of God, he has shut himself up to the dread alternative of blank fatalism, which rules God out of the empire of moral agency. According to what the objector to the decree teaches, the only relation which God sustains to the events which are to transpire in the future history of His own universe is that He knows they undoubtedly shall come to pass at the times, in the places, in the order, and by their respective agencies, exactly as foreknown. Regarding all that shall take place within the domain of free moral agency, and espe-

cially within the sphere of the kingdom of grace, He simply knows what will happen. Reject the doctrine of the decree, and this is the sole alternative. The question, therefore, arises, as the whole future is known by God, and therefore certain, and therefore determined, by whom, or rather by what, has it been determined? The objector has ruled out God, let him bring forth his substitute. If by his theory he has dethroned the omniscient Jehovah, surely he cannot leave the throne of the universe vacant. I have more faith in my Arminian friends than to think that they will venture to carry out their principles to their legitimate consequences and proceed to place upon the august seat of the Divine Majesty as a substitute for the omniscient God any of the principalities or powers of the celestial army. They have placed themselves in a dilemma out of which their principles will not permit them to escape. They have on the one hand a vacant throne, and on the other an absolutely determined future. That is, they have to account for a determined future while their principles will not admit the existence, or counsel, or action of any intelligent personal determiner! Is it not manifest that an absolutely determined series of events, concatenated and linked together by no supreme intelligence, whether divine, angelic or human, must be referred to nothing save blind, relentless Fate?

But this is not all. Denying the sovereignty of God within the sphere of redemption, the Arminian must refer to this blind Fate the determination of the issues of the economy. As foreknowledge embraces and has embraced from all eternity the knowledge of those who shall be saved and of those who shall be lost, and as the Arminian denies that God has determined to save the elect and to pass by the non-elect, it must follow that the whole arrangements for the calling, justification and glorification of the elect, including the death of Christ and the office-work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration and sanctification, can be ascribed to no efficient, determining cause, save the soulless, passionless, unintelligent idol, Fate. Is it necessary to point out the bearing of such a theory upon the glory of the Divine Author of our salvation by whose determinate counsel and foreknowledge Christ was betrayed and put to death? or its bearing upon the work of Christ both in His life and in His death? or upon the work of the Holy Ghost in quickening dead souls into spiritual life and maintaining the life He imparts until it expands and matures in the presence of the glorified Redeemer,

without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing? Carried fairly and fully out, the theory cannot admit decree, or intervention, or anything beyond "moral suasion," at any stage of the economy. It is irreconcilable with the clearly revealed fact, that while our Redeemer was put to death by wicked hands, He was delivered to that death in accordance with, and in pursuance of, a purpose entertained before the foundation of the world. It cannot be reconciled with the fact that the betrayer was foreordained to betray Him, or with the fact, that Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel were gathered together to do whatsoever the hand and the counsel of God determined before to be done. Where then is the love of God in giving His Son to die, or the love of the Son in dying, or the love of the Holy Spirit in applying the purchased redemption to the souls of men? Is such an economy—an economy that has been designed to make known to the principalities and powers in heavenly places, through the church, the manifold wisdom of God—is such an economy, which the angels desire to look into, to be referred to any moving, determining cause outside the adorable Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost? Does not the soul which has experienced its redemptive power in deliverance from the guilt and bondage of sin, turn, with instinctive horror, from the theory which leaves it no alternative but to ascribe such an economy to an irrational, impersonal entity, under whose administration Arminianism places by implication, the destiny of angels and of men as well as the glory of the omniscient, omnipotent God? Instead of assuming that we have capacity to look within and examine the *arcana* of the mysteries of the Divine purposes, be it ours, as it was Paul's, to confess our impotence for such investigation, and with him to exclaim, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past finding out. . . . For of Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things: to whom be glory forever. Amen."

ON SOME POINTS IN PROFESSOR ROBERTSON SMITH'S LECTURES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY PROFESSOR T. K. CHEYNE, D.D.

From *The Expositor* (London), August, 1892.

DR. DRIVER'S forthcoming review of the second edition of Prof. Robertson Smith's

well known work will doubtless make it superfluous for me to show by details the exceeding merit of the book. Strictly speaking, indeed, it is above both eulogy and criticism, in so far as it reproduces those admirable lectures which to so many, even of those who now sit in the professor's chair, have been delightful companions. Yes; not only the higher criticism of the Bible, but this excellent introduction to the study, has proved its life, "like Dante among the shades," by moving what it touches. It is however worth while for some of us to confer with the author, as with an old friend, on some of the new pages of his book. I shall not speak of the important additional matter in Lectures V. and XI., nor of the new concluding lecture, and only incidentally of the re-written seventh Lecture which has to do with the Book of Psalms. Two of the six appended notes will form the subject of this short article; it were easy to expatiate upon them at length, but the author at any rate will understand why I confine myself to a brief statement of the impression which he has made upon me. Note A relates to the text of 1 Sam. xvii. Prof. Robertson Smith is no more moved by the arguments of Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Budde, who hold that the omissions of the Septuagint are due to an attempt to remove difficulties, than Cornill, whose valuable *Einleitung* is attaining such a well-deserved popularity. On the other hand, there are some scholars who hold out even against such able writers as Cornill and the author, and to the number of these both Dr. Driver (presumably) and myself (*Aids to the Study of Criticism*, p. 90) belong. The author's exposition of his critical theory is most lucid, and as one reads it one is more than half disposed to agree with him. But when we turn back, and ask if the difficulties pointed out, e.g. by Budde, in such theories as the author's have been removed, we hesitate to reply in the affirmative. I am afraid that if I followed the author, I should be led into an arbitrary, subjective criticism which I could not justify. Look at the form given to the seventeenth chapter of Samuel by Klostermann. The author is bold, rightly bold, but I feel sure he would rather give up the whole problem as insoluble than venture on such a thorough analysis as could alone prove his theory to be correct.

Some of Prof. Robertson Smith's observations are undoubtedly correct; but the roughnesses in the text can be accounted for differently. For instance, there is great awkwardness in verse 12; but the text

appears to be not quite in order, and in verse 31 the author and Klostermann are evidently right in following Lucian's Septuagint, which appends *kai elōnyayōn προς Σαούλ*. He is also I think right, in company with Klostermann and Budde, in the conjecture that verse 12 should begin with the words, "And there was a man, an Ephrathite of Bethlehem-Judah, whose name was Jesse." This view does not however force us to hold that verses 12-31 (I put aside the question of glosses in this portion) come from a different source from xvii. 1-11. I should not have been surprised if the author had also been attracted by another theory of Klostermann, which substitutes Jonathan's armour for that of Saul in verse 38 (cf. *Aids*, p. 105). I cannot at present follow him however in his own view of Israelitish armour-bearers. Prof. Robertson Smith's familiarity with Arabic historians gives to him no doubt a special authority on Semitic military matters. But must an armour-bearer necessarily have been inexpert in the use of arms? This seems to me (I speak under correction) a gratuitous assumption. I agree however with the author that the whole story of Goliath implies that David was only a stripling. He was, in fact, a shepherd boy according to this narrative; Prof. Robertson Smith adds, and also Saul's armour-bearer, and (like Klostermann) explains the sword in verse 51 as David's (which is plausible). I cannot however as yet venture to follow him. If it is a bold hypothesis that the words "who is with the sheep" (xvi. 19) are interpolated, I am not sure that it is not justifiable under the circumstances (see Budde, p. 211). The author is hardly less bold in another way when he asserts that the words of Saul's servant in xvi. 18 may be taken preleptically. To me they rather suggest that it was an honour even for a brave and dexterous warrior to act upon some occasions* as the king's armour-bearer. If I may not hold this view, I see no choice but to fall back upon the difficult theory (suggested but rejected by the author) that xvi. 14-23 is itself of composite structure.† At any rate, the author and I both agree with Ewald, that this fine story was "told and retold with infinite delight and frequency"; hence the chief difficulties of the text.

I now pass to the note on Maccabean psalms in Books I.-III. of the Psalter. I have already ventured to express the opinion

* For I suppose that Saul, as well as Joab (2 Sam. xviii. 15), may have had several armour-bearers.

† I do not understand the remark that xvi. 14-23 may conceivably present traces of a narrative which introduced David to Saul as a full-grown warrior, "especially in view of 2 Sam. xxi. 19." Is Elihanan regarded as another name of David (Böttcher's and Prof. Sayce's view)?

(*Expositor*, March, 1892, p. 231) that Prof. W. R. Smith's article on the Psalms in the *Encycl. Britannica* is still the best general introduction to the subject, and I am heartily glad that the substance of it is republished in the present volume. There is so much in it with which I agree, so much which needs to be emphasized as practically certain, however much it may be disputed, that if I thought the criticisms which I am about to offer would strike the reader as hostile, I would suppress them. They are in fact rather questions than criticisms, and will at least testify to the interest with which I have read this note. That references to a king in psalms which appear to be post-Exilic are surprising, is admitted on all hands. Prof. Robertson Smith thinks that Psalms lxi. 7-9, and lxiii. 12 are liturgical additions. I suppose he means that these psalms were originally the songs of an individual, and adapted for the use of the Jewish Church by these closing verses. But who in this case was meant by the king? Does the author suppose the Messianic King to be meant? This seems to me more difficult to realize, and less supported by external evidence, than my own theory (which may, of course, be united to the individualistic interpretation of the rest of these psalms). And this reminds me that on the next page the author explains Psalm lxxii. 1 thus: "Entrust thy judgments to a king, and thy righteousness to a king's son," which "may very well be a prayer for the re establishment of the Davidic dynasty under a Messianic king according to prophecy." I do not forget the simple יְהוָה in Isaiah xxxii. 1, xxxiii. 17, and I know that many difficult things have to be admitted, but I cannot as yet take in this theory. Nor can I, without some entirely fresh considerations being offered, admit that Psalm xlvi. is most easily understood as pre-Exilic, and I am surprised that Prof. Whitehouse (*Critical Review*, January, 1892, p. 10) should be attracted more by the theory of Psalm lxxii, offered in my *Lectures* than by that of Psalm xlvi. Special stress is once more laid by the author on his theory (which is closely allied to Ewald's former theory) of Psalms xlvi., lxxiv., lxxix., and lxxxiii. It will be a great satisfaction to me, should I be able to follow him, more especially as regards Psalms lxxiv. and lxxix. For I cannot help believing that the critics of the Book of Isaiah will have sooner or later to admit that Isaiah lxiii. 7-lvi. 24 belongs to the terrible times of Artaxerxes Ochus.* Now if it may be

* *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October, 1891, pp. 104-111, where Prof. Robertson Smith's article "Psalms" is duly referred to. On the Syrian and Egyptian campaigns of Ochus, see also Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (1892).

accepted as probable that the temple was burned and Jerusalem laid waste by the Persians, irritated at the part taken by the Jews in the Syrian and Egyptian revolt, we can place Psalms lxxiv. 7 and lxxxix. 1 by the side of Isaiah lxiv. 10, 11 (Heb. 9, 10). At present I see difficulties. It is very bold to transform the story of Bagōes so completely, nor should we altogether neglect the statement in Solinus, that not Jerusalem but Jericho was "subdued" by Artaxerxes.* The commercial importance of Jericho may well have enabled it to overshadow Jerusalem; we know the importance of this city under Herod. As Hitzig remarks, Jews and Syrians probably dwelt together at Jericho, and shared the lot of captivity which Jerusalem, immersed in religion, may have escaped. Nor am I sure that the revolt of the Jews (or of a part of the Jews) can have had a theocratic character to such an extent as to explain Psalm xliv., and neither the expression "our hosts" (v. 9) nor the Psalmist's consciousness of Israel's innocence (contrast Isaiah lxiv. 5-7, and see Josephus) seems to me quite intelligible on Prof. Smith's theory. And the author is, I think, unjust to the Persian kings. It is perhaps a more satisfactory estimate of them which is given by Prof. Gardner, when he says that they "were usually very tolerant of the religions of those they conquered."† And if there was any country where the Persians were unlikely to commit acts of sacrilege, it was the land of the Jews; what was there in the temple to irritate Mazda-worshippers? Nor must we rely on the citation from Pseudo-Hecataeus, which does not in the least prove that the Jewish religion was persecuted by the Persians. And lastly, Gutschmid's theory respecting the Holophernes of the Book of Judith is no doubt possible, but is not at present widely received among scholars.

As to Psalm lxxxiii., Prof. Robertson Smith's date (after B.C. 350) comes very near my own. Still, with Isaiah lxiii. 7-lxiv. 12 in my mind, I can hardly believe it to be correct, and 1 Macc. v. seems to me to throw a bright light on the psalm. The statement of Pseudo-Seylax which gives Ascalon to Tyre (cf. Gutachmid's art. "Phoenicia" in the *E. B.*) is strange; and is Ascalon equivalent to Philistia? I wonder that the author does not add a reference to Isaiah xxv. 10-12 (Moab), for Isaiah

xxiv.-xxvii. is probably of the second Persian century. Psalm lxviii. is also stated to be of the close of the Persian age. But in this case I cannot understand why Israel should pray for a "rebuke" to Egypt, which was battling so manfully for its independence against the tyrant Oehus. But to all my doubts and questionings there is one sufficient answer if Books I.-III. *must* have been completed before the Maccabee period. It is too true that we have but the most fragmentary and second-hand accounts of the fateful years which preceded the catastrophe of Persia. If the psalms in question *must* be Persian, then we may reconstruct a history to suit them. But I am not sure that they must, and I have reverence even for the echoes of historical events in Diodorus and Solinus.

Of course, it is gratifying to me to know that this prince of English critics is entirely on my side on the point to which I attach the highest importance, viz. that the Book of Psalms is not a record of many different ages, to be laboriously puzzled out by the critic, but upon the whole a monument of the Church of the Second Temple, so that he who would study Jewish religion—not the religion of a few exceptional men, but that of the Church nation—must work hard at the psalms. I have looked on with astonishment at the failure of English reviewers to take in this idea, and I am pleased to have on my side one who, for his acuteness, learning, and devout spirit, ought to be respected by them all.*

PROFESSOR W. R. SMITH ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY PROFESSOR S. R. DRIVER, D.D.

From *The Expositor* (London), September, 1892.

ALL readers interested in the subject will welcome the second edition of Prof. Robertson Smith's Lectures on "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church." Delivered originally in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the

* I subjoin two little notes. (1) On p. 212 the author states that the point of Psalm xxxiii., is missed in all the commentaries that he has examined. I have not the *E. B.* at hand to see if this sentence is but reprinted, but surely all those commentators who regard this as a pilgrim psalm hold just the same view as that which is here so well expressed. What is the property of the author is the beautiful interpretation of verses 2 and 3 which follows. (2) It is not perhaps wise to reject the situation proposed by me (after Hitzig) for Psalms xlii., xliii., because it is "fanciful" (p. 429). Unverified by the imagination, the facts of exegesis tend to be insipid. Milton has taught us that there is a true fancy and a false (*Paradise Lost*, Book V.), and the author himself is, happily, well furnished with imaginative power. (3) My present view of Psalm lxviii. 31 (A. V. 30) is to be found in *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, p. 341. The verse, as I now interpret it, suggests placing the psalms at a time when Egyptian mercenaries were dangerous to Syria (see Jos., Ant. xii. 8, 3).

* *Judea caput fuit Hierosolyma, sed excisa est. Successit Hierichus : et hac desivit, Artaxerxes bello subacta.*" Solinus, § 35, 4 (Mommseus).

† *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 246.

winter of 1881, where they were listened to eagerly by large audiences, they were published in the following spring, and at once took rank in the Biblical literature of this country as the standard introduction to an intelligent study of the Old Testament. Luminous, learned, and logical, addressed not to specialists, but to the educated public generally, these lectures carry the reader back from the Old Testament as we at present know it to the period of its growth, illustrating, with especial reference to its historical and legal sections, the manner in which it was gradually built up, and explaining the character of its component parts. First (Lects. I.-V.), the lecturer takes a survey of the later period of the history of the Old Testament, the period of transmission, during which the text of the sacred books was exposed, from various causes, the operation of which is illustrated and explained, to corruption and error; then, after a chapter on the Growth of the Canon (Lect. VI.), and one on the Psalter (Lect. VII.), the reader is introduced to the earlier stages of its history, the period of its genesis, the period during which the historical books were in process of slow formation, and the different bodies of law now embedded in the Pentateuch were gradually assuming their present shape (Lects. VIII.-XIII.). The stages through which the Hebrew "direction," or *Torah*, passed, before it reached its present form, are illustrated and discussed; and the groups of laws contained in the Pentateuch are instructively compared, both with each other and with the historical books; the teaching of the prophets, and the position taken by them, are indicated in outline (Lect. X.); and the inconsistencies involved in the traditional view of the origin of the Pentateuch are forcibly exhibited. On questions of detail, a divergent opinion is sometimes tenable: to many, for example, it may seem that the author's denial (p. 303, etc.) of the legal obligation of sacrifice in pre-exilic Israel is expressed in too unqualified terms (see Exod. xx. 24f., xxiii. 14-19, xxxiv. 18-23, in the "First Legislation"); but, taken as a whole, his lectures are a masterly and cogent exposition, in their main features, of the critical view of the literature and history of ancient Israel, and of the grounds upon which it principally rests. Prof. Smith rightly emphasises (p. 314) the need of spiritual sympathy on the part of those who would properly understand the Bible; but he insists at the same time, not less rightly, that the Bible must be studied by historical methods; for revelation has

itself been a historical process; and its course has been throughout conditioned by the historical relations, and historical circumstances, of those to whom it was in the first instance addressed.

The present edition, in the main, does not differ materially from the first edition; but it has been improved in form, and contains some important additional matter. The Lectures are printed now in full octavo size; and the larger page has enabled the author to introduce at the foot of the text most of the notes placed formerly at the end of the volume, where they were liable to be overlooked. Here and there the phrasing of a sentence has been modified: but in general the text of the lectures has been unchanged; and the omissions do not probably exceed two or three pages. Of course bibliographical notes have, where necessary, been brought up to date. The most important places in which the text is either greatly expanded or altogether new, are pp. 92-103 (on the frequent anonymity of ancient Israelitish literature), 113-122 and 124-148 (illustrations, with reference to the LXX., of the composite structure of the historical books, and examples, partly expanded from pp. 419-422 of the first edition, of the historical method pursued by the Chronicler), 200-225 (on the compilation and date of the Psalter), 332-337 (on the complicated structure of the narrative in Exod. xix.-xxiv., xxxii.-xxxiv., as exemplifying the necessity of a critical examination of the several bodies of law contained in the Pentateuch), and the whole of Lecture XIII., pp. 388-430 (on the narrative of the Hexateuch). Of the shorter additions, the chief will be found on pp. 58-61, 67, 175f., 311 note, 365-7, 380f., 386f.; an additional line or two may also occasionally be noted elsewhere. The volume closes with an appendix of six notes (pp. 431-449), too long to be introduced conveniently at the foot of the page. Of these, B (Hebrew fragments preserved in the LXX., with particular reference to the curious quotation from—as can hardly be doubted—the Book of Jasher in 1 Kings viii. 53. LXX.), C (the sources of Ps. lxxxvi.), E (the fifty-first Psalm), are repeated from the first edition, the only addition being a paragraph at the end of Note B, on the interesting notice of Aphek preserved in Lucian's recension of the LXX., in 2 Kings xiii. 22. Notes A, D, and F, are new. In the first of these the author defends his view against Wellhausen, Kuennen, and Budde, that in 1 Sam. xvii. 1-xviii. 5 the LXX. preserves a more original text than the Hebrew, and does not

merely represent a text which has been abbreviated from harmonistic motives. Note D is a criticism on some of Prof. Cheyne's positions in his *Origin of the Psalter*, in particular on the Maccabean date (which has also had the support of many earlier writers) of Pss. xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxiii. Note F is on the development of the ritual system between Ezekiel and Ezra.

In the additional pages on the Psalms, Prof. Smith incorporates the main conclusions reached by him in his article *Psalms*, in the 9th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1886). Though not categorically denying the existence in the Psalter of pre-exilic, or even of Davidic, Psalms, he rightly treats the great majority of Psalms as reflecting the spirit of the post-exilic period. Having demonstrated, from internal evidence, the number of stages involved in the redaction of the present Psalter, he shows that the Korahite and Asaphite Psalms (Pss. xlvi.-lxix.; Pss. I., lxxii.-lxxxiii.) were in all probability the hymn-books of two Levitical choirs or guilds who had charge of the Temple-psalmody between the time of Nehemiah and that of the Chronicler (*i.e.* c. 430-330 B.C.), a period which would also, he remarks, agree with the character and contents of at least many of these Psalms, and consequently be suitable for their composition.* The Maccabean date of Pss. xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxiii., is questioned by Prof. Smith, on account of the difficulty which he finds in reconciling it with their position in the Elohistic Psalter (*i.e.* in the group of Psalms xlvi.-lxxxiii., marked by the preponderance of the name *Elohim* above *Jehovah*), the compilation of which must have been completed, he urges, before the Maccabean age. He is disposed consequently to refer these Psalms to the reign of Alexander Ochus (B.C. 359-339), when a great rebellion took place in Phœnicia and other western parts of the Persian empire, for complicity in which it is known that many Jews were taken captive into Hyrcania,† and when, it is conjectured, Jerusalem and the Temple may have suffered in the manner alluded to in Ps. lxxiv., lxxix. The conjecture is an attractive one; but in the scantiness of our information respecting this, as respecting many other periods of post-exilic Judaism, the point is one on which we must be content to remain in uncertainty.‡ The Third Collection (Pss. xe.-cl.), Prof. Smith points

out, must have been formed after the Second Collection (Pss. xlvi.-lxxxiii.) had been revised by the editor who substituted *Elohim* for *Jehovah*; hence its compilation will not be earlier than the Greek period: while it is not, of course (p. 212), to be assumed that all the Psalms in this Collection were written in this period, their contents, in the majority of cases, agree with such a date, and some (especially Pss. cxviii.-cxviii., cxli.) manifestly reflect the enthusiasm evoked by the great victories of the Maccabees, which culminated in the rededication of the Temple, b.c. 165. Thus the collection of Pss. xc.-cl., and the completion of the whole Psalter, belong to the early years of the Maccabee sovereignty. The two collections of Davidic Psalms in Books I. and II. (Pss. iii.-xxxii., xxxiv.-xli.; Pss. li.-lxv., lxviii.-lxx.) will have been compiled first, though not earlier than the return from the captivity. Although not generally so late in character as the Psalms in the Third Collection, they contain many Psalms which pre-suppose a date later in some instances than Jeremiah, in others than the exile. These two collections naturally represented to their compilers the oldest tradition of Hebrew psalmody; but there is no satisfactory evidence that the titles connecting them with David are derived by a continuous tradition from the time of David himself: in many cases, indeed, the titles not only assign to him Psalms which in no degree correspond with the situation in which he was placed, but they assign them to him in such a way as to prove "that they date from an age in which David was merely the abstract Psalmist, and which had no idea whatever of the historical conditions of his time." The description of the David of the Psalm-titles as the "abstract Psalmist" is a felicitous one. The belief that David was the author—we do not say of *some*—but of *all*—the Psalms ascribed to him by the titles, must spring from the time when the memory of the great king had been so idealised that the unhistorical conception of his character, which culminates in the Chronicles, was already in process of formation.* Individual Psalms, Prof. Smith does

* Prof. Smith does not speak in detail respecting individual Psalms. Ps. xlvi., however, is treated by him as pre-exilic (p. 459).

† Comp. Ewald, *History*, v. p. 206.

‡ Prof. Cheyne's argument in reply may be seen in the *Expositor*, Aug., 1892, pp. 157ff.

* It must, however, remain an open question whether the title of *David* really means "written by David"; it may, for instance, have been intended originally to indicate that the Psalms to which it is prefixed were taken from a collection not written by David, but associated with his name on account of the manner in which they were used liturgically. As Prof. Smith remarks (pp. 228, 229), Nehemiah speaks of the singers using the "musical instruments of David" (Neh. xii. 36); and in the Chronicles, though mention is made 2 Chron. xxix. 30 of "the words of David, and of Asaph the seer," David is in point of fact brought far more closely into connection with the music of the temple than with the hymns which were sung there (see e.g. 1 Chron. xxv., 2 Chron. xxiii. 18, xxix. 27, Ezra iii. 10). The Hebrew preposition used merely expresses *belonging to David*,—not necessarily by means of authorship.

not dispute, may indeed be pre-exilic, but it is not these which give the tone even to Book I.—“whatever the date of this or that individual poem, the collection as a whole—whether by selection or authorship—is adapted to express a religious life, of which the exile is the presupposition. Only in this way can we understand the conflict and triumph of spiritual faith, habitually represented as the faith of a poor and struggling band, living in the midst of oppressors, and with no strength or help but the consciousness of loyalty to Jehovah, which is the fundamental note of the whole book” (p. 220). It may be questioned, perhaps, whether some of the Psalms bearing this character may not owe their origin to the persecutions under Manasseh, or to the troublous times to which Jeremiah bears witness; but that the great majority of Psalms in the existing Psalter, whether judged by a literary or a religious standard, proclaim their affinity with the later ages of Israelitish history, is a position that may be maintained without fear of contradiction.

On p. 138ff., Prof. Smith has some useful remarks on the characteristics of the later historical narratives of the Old Testament. He points out how, when we have two parallel narratives of the same transaction, it may generally be observed that in the older “the Divine Spirit guides the action of human forces without suppressing or distorting them,” while in the later the representation of the supernatural element is more artificial—the narrative is dominated by that “mechanical conception of Jehovah’s rule in Israel, which prevailed more and more among the later Jews, and ultimately destroyed all feeling for historical reality, and at the same time all true insight into the methods of Divine governance.” This change of view, he remarks, was a corollary of the increased distance from which the later narrator viewed the events to be described. “It requires insight and faith to see the hand of God in the ordinary processes of history, whereas extraordinary coincidences between conduct and fortune are fitted to impress the dullest minds. Hence, when the religious lesson of any part of history has been impressed on the popular mind, there is always a tendency to re-shape the story in such a way as to bring the point out sharply, and drop all details that have not a direct religious significance.” This was especially the case with the Old Testament, which, “taken as a whole, forms so remarkable a chain of evidence, establishing the truth of what the prophets had taught as to the laws of God’s govern-

ment upon earth.” Religious students of the past “concentrated their attention in an increasing degree, and ultimately in an exclusive way, on the explanation of events by religious considerations.” Hence, particularly after the establishment of the post-exilic theocracy, the tendency asserted itself more and more to view Israel’s past as “a mechanical sequence of sin and punishment, obedience and prosperity.” Of course, in the Rabbinical literature of post-Biblical times, the tendencies inchoate in the later parts of the Old Testament are much more pronounced, and the mechanical view of God’s dealing with men is greatly intensified and exaggerated. Prof. Smith illustrates the difference between the earlier and later Biblical histories from the Chronicles, showing that where, as is sometimes the case, the Chronicler contradicts, for instance, the Book of Kings, a sound historical judgment cannot but give the preference to the older source; while, where some difference of usage between his own time and that of the old monarchy is concerned, a modified and partial value can only be regarded as attaching to his authority. The historian must discriminate in his use of his materials; for “the practice of using the Chronicles as if they had the same historical value as the older books has done more than any other one cause to prevent a right understanding of the Old Testament and of the old dispensation” (p. 148). In this view of the historical value of the Chronicles, the author adopts substantially the same attitude as that taken by Prof. Francis Brown, of New York, in his excellent Lectures on the Historical Books of the Old Testament, delivered by him recently at Mansfield College.

Lecture XIII. deals with the narratives of the Hexateuch. Here Prof. Smith shows that the strength of the present position of Pentateuch criticism is much increased by the fact that two independent lines of inquiry, the literary and the historical, have converged to a common result. “The historical method compares the institutions set forth in the several groups of law contained in the Pentateuch with the actual institutions of Israel, as attested by the historical books and the prophets: the literary method compares the several parts of the Pentateuch with one another, taking note of diversities of style and manner, of internal contradictions or incongruities, and of all other points that forbid us to regard the whole work as the homogeneous composition of a single writer.” These two methods are in large measure independent of one an-

other ; literary differences, being the more obvious, were the first to attract the attention of scholars ; and in fact the literary analysis of the Pentateuch, in all its broader features, was practically completed before the results gained began to be fully studied under their historical aspects. The appreciation of the fact that the great strata of laws embodied in the Pentateuch are not all of one age, but (though in some instances overlapping) correspond generally to three stages in the development of Israel's institutions, which can still be recognised in the narrative of the historical books, is rightly described by him as the most important achievement of Old Testament criticism. Illustrations follow of the results gained by the two methods indicated. The prophetic and the priestly narratives in Exodus-Numbers are compared, and it is shown how a distinct character and aim prevail in each : the former exhibit the oldest traditions respecting the history of the Mosaic Age, the interest of the latter is legal. "The priestly writing," Prof. Smith says, "is only in form an historical document ; in substance, it is a body of laws and precedents having the value of law," attached to a thread of history which is so slender that it often consists of nothing more than a chronological scheme, and a sequence of bare names. Our author does not here emphasise so fully as he might do, and as other passages in his volume * make it evident that he holds the antiquity of elements included in the institutions of the Priests' Code ; but he is right in maintaining that these institutions acquired an increased value in the post-exilic age, and became then "the necessary and efficient means of preserving the little community of Judaism from being swallowed up in the surrounding heathenism," and of "maturing among the Jews those elements of true spiritual religion out of which Christianity sprang" (p. 420f.).†

* E.g. p. 392f. : "Though the historical student is compelled to speak of the ritual code as the law of the second Temple, it would be a great mistake to think of it as altogether new. Ezekiel's ordinances are nothing else than a reshaping of the old priestly Torah ; and a close study of the Levitical laws, especially in Lev. xvii.-xxvi., shows that many ancient Torahs were worked up, by successive processes, into the complete system as we now possess it." The subject is one on which misapprehensions are apt to prevail ; and we are inclined to regret that our author, whose studies in Semitic Religions entitle him to speak here with some authority, has not expressed himself more particularly upon it.

† On the pedagogic character of the law, comp. also the remarks on pp. 315-317 (in the first edition, pp. 312-316). In the age for which it was designed "the dispensation of the Law became a practical power in Israel. . . . It gave palpable expression to the spiritual nature of Jehovah, and, around and within the ritual, prophetic truth gained a hold in Israel such as they never had before. That the Law was a Divine institution, that it formed an actual part in the gracious scheme of guidance which preserved the religion of Jehovah as a living power in Israel, till shadow became substance in the manifestation of Christ, is no theory, but an historical fact, which no criticism as to the origin of the books of Moses can invalidate."

MISSIONS.

OWING to the fact that several denominations of Christians will consider missions in Persia in the monthly concerts and other missionary meetings in October, we give considerable space to matters relating to missions in that country.

ITINERANT AND TRANSIENT MISSIONS IN PERSIA.

A marked phase of modern and Protestant evangelical effort in Persia has been the exploration of parts of that country by the representatives of missionary societies sent out for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the people, and the practicability of establishing missions among them. In some instances the tourists were connected with missions intended to be permanent, but which, after a few years, were discontinued. To group these, and for convenience of designation, I have called them itinerant and transient missions.

The earliest of these in modern and Protestant effort was the mission of the Moravians. These great pioneers of evangelistic work perceived the great needs of that kingdom, and made an attempt in behalf of the Gnebers (fire worshippers) as early as A.D. 1747. Hocker and Rueffer were sent out to that people, but they were detained by sickness, and encountered so many difficulties that they retired from the country after the lapse of a few months. They had undertaken to penetrate to the central colony of the Guebers at Yezd, far in the desert of Khorasan, where Europeans are seldom seen, and the wildest fanaticism prevails both among Mohammedans and fire-worshippers.

After the Moravians, no Protestant missionary is known to have entered the kingdom for a period of about sixty years, or until the entrance of Henry Martyn, who came from India for the express purpose of revising his translation of the New Testament, and with the expectation that his stay in the country would be transient, and without any thought of establishing a mission. While the work of translation is, perhaps, the most prominent fact of Martyn's labors in Persia, yet there are other features of his efforts worthy of note. The work of translation had been completed in India, and occupied his time during three years, but the translation was thought to be composed too largely of Arabic words and to be wanting in idiomatic Persian. To remedy these defects, Martyn resolved to enter Persia and to make a revision of his manuscript in Shiraz. This city is the me-

tropolis of the province of Fars, whence we have the name Pars and Parsee and Persian. It is situated in the Zagros Mountains, about thirty-five miles south by west from the ruins of Persepolis. The altitude of the place is a little over four thousand feet above the sea level, and the city is considered healthful and the plain is fertile.

After a journey from India, rendered painful by the intense heat and by illness, Martyn entered Shiraz in the month of June, 1811. He remained here during the most part of a year, and on the completion of his revision of the translation resumed his journey by Chapar—Persian post—toward England. He passed through Tehran, Tabriz, and Erzeroum, and reached Tokat, in Asia Minor, where he died from the effects of disease aggravated by the fatigue of travel, October 16th, 1812.

The brief residence of this devout man in Shiraz is noteworthy, not only on account of the version of the Scriptures here completed, but for missionary work of a more general nature. He made no attempt to organize a mission establishment of churches and schools, neither did he gather a congregation for the purpose of religious worship. Any attempt at such an object was not only incompatible with the purpose of his residence in Shiraz, but if undertaken might have occasioned a defeat of his main object. But he made an impression in favor of Christianity by his Christian conduct, and by friendly and informal gatherings of Mohammedans. His memoir relates how he discussed with the mullahs of Shiraz the comparative merits of Christianity and Islam.

When the heat of summer made it desirable that he should retire from the city, a tent was set up for him in a garden, where he remained during a part of the hot season. Sir Robert Porter visited Shiraz nine years after the entrance there of Martyn, and near the same season of the year. The acquaintances of the missionary were yet living. Porter says: "I could never forget I was in the house of the near kinsman of the two noble Persians, Jaffir Ale Khan and Mirza Seid Ale, who had shown the warmest personal friendship to our 'man of God,' for so they designated Henry Martyn. When the weather became too intense for his enfeebled frame to bear the extreme heat of the city, Jaffir Ale Khan pitched a tent for him in a most delightful garden beneath the walls, where he pursued his Asiatic translations of the Scriptures; or sometimes in the cool of the evening he sat under the shade of an orange tree, by the

side of a clear stream, holding that style of conversation with the two admirable brothers which caused their pious guest to say 'that the bed of roses on which he reclined, and the notes of the nightingale which warbled above him, were not so sweet as such discourse from Persian lips.' "

A few days later the explorer had occasion to retreat to the cooler regions of the north, and he thus describes an episode in his journey: "We had hardly introduced ourselves into our dilapidated menzil [lodging-place] and disposed ourselves, some to rest and others to supper, when we were disturbed by the arrival of new inhabitants—Hodge Bachire and his train!—no less a personage than chief of the household to the royal mother of Hassan Ale Mirza, prince Governor of Shiraz! The worthy comptroller was an eunuch from Abyssinia, old and wrinkled, and *sans ceremonie* he presented himself before us, took his seat near our nummads, and declared himself the happiest of men in finding himself in the company of Englishmen, winding up his compliments to our nation with a particular eulogium on the talents and virtues of our countryman, the late Rev. Henry Martyn, who, he said, had passed some time under his roof during his apostolic sojourn in Shiraz. A succession of kindly smiles brightened the black visage of the Hodge while he dwelt on the merits of the meek man of God, though it was in that city, and probably under his roof, that he composed many of the queries relative to the Mohammedan faith, none of which have yet been answered by the wisest sages and mullahs of Persia. Indeed, these staggering doubts cast upon the creed of Mecca have afforded increasing occupation to the pen of Mirza Bezoork, the devout and learned minister of Abbas Mirza; but after eight years' consideration, discussing and writing on these stubborn points, still his labors, like the web of Penelope, seem *sans fin*; for, dissatisfied with what is done, he frequently obliterates what has been the toil of a year at least."

No occupation is more congenial to this people than discussion on theological and philosophical themes, provided the discourse be carried on in a social way, free from evident intent to proselyte. The impunity with which Martyn was permitted to controvert the claims of Islam in the gatherings of mullahs is in marked contrast with the experience of several other missionaries who have endeavored to do the same in Shiraz and other cities. Martyn's immunity from violence is to be attributed

in part to his manner and spirit, to his known purpose to do literary work, to the fact that his controversies were with the learned and better class and not in the presence of the rabble, and especially to the fact that he was a foreigner, whose wrongs would certainly be avenged.

There was a great contrast between the person and character of Henry Martyn and that of the next missionary tourist who entered Persia—the Rev. Joseph Wolff. This man entered Persia in the winter of 1825 as a missionary of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews. He came from England by way of Syria, Bagdad, and Bushire. He states the object of his travels to be "that he might converse with the Jews about Jesus, and inquire into the truth of their idea that they were descendants of the lost ten tribes." He travelled from Bushire to Shiraz, Ispahan, Koom, Tehran, and Tabriz, and thence by way of Erewan through Georgia, over the Caucasus Mountains to the Crimea. He remained in New Julfa, near Ispahan, a month, having intercourse chiefly with Jews and Armenians. In Tehran he took into his service a Persian named Mirza Ibraheem, who accompanied him through Persia to Constantinople, whence he was sent to England. This Mirza was recommended to Hailebury College, where he became a professor of the Persian and Arabic languages. He subsequently translated Herodotus into the Persian, and remained in England a period of twenty-one years, when he returned to Persia.

At Tabriz, Wolff met with Bishop "Sharwis," of the Chaldean Church, subject to the Pope of Rome. Although Sharwis exercised the functions of a bishop of the papal branch of the Nestorian Church, he had been consecrated by Nestorian bishops only, and not at Rome. Mr. Leeves, of England, had engaged the bishop to procure a translation of the Bible into the Kurdish language. While in Tabriz, Wolff received a letter from Mr. Leeves desiring him to find out Sharwis. He therefore went, in company with the bishop, to Oroomiah, where it was hoped some one could be found to undertake the translation; but the work was never done. At Salmas, on the way between Tabriz and Oroomiah, Wolff preached to Chaldeans, Jews, and Mohammedans, as also at other towns, especially Oroomiah. He also gave Bibles to the people as they assembled to hear him preach.

The second tour of Joseph Wolff was made in the autumn and winter of 1831, in

pursuance of his purpose to penetrate to Bokhara. The journey was undertaken at his own discretion, without the aid of any missionary society. He travelled through Asia Minor to Tokat, visiting the grave of Henry Martyn, to Erzeroun, and through Armenia to Khoy, in Western Persia. The plague was then raging in Persia, and he therefore avoided the city of Tabriz, but remained a time with the British ambassador near that place. The villages between Tabriz and Tehran, a distance of nearly four hundred miles, were infected with the plague. Through this region Wolff travelled during eight days, avoiding the villages and lodging at night without their walls, sleeping upon the ground. He reached Tehran in safety, and proceeded thence to Khorasan in the assumed character of a dervish. Abbas Mirza was now virtual ruler of the kingdom. Great anarchy prevailed throughout the province of Khorasan, war being waged by the government with rebel Persians and Turkmans. The numerous khans and chiefs contended with each other, and made slaves of their own co-religionists, whom they sold for the markets of Turkestan. One of these khans is noted for his achievements and cruelty. Ishak Khan, the ruler of "Torbad Hydrea," a man of giant frame and great physical strength, would often, with his own hands, tear a captive asunder, and could boast that he had sold sixty thousand of his own countrymen into slavery.

The hostile bands of these khans ravaged the country east of Tehran, and were in partnership with the Turkmans. The statement is made that at that time there were two hundred thousand Persian slaves in Bokhara alone.

It was through such a country that Wolff travelled as a Christian dervish, having with him several camel loads of Bibles in various languages. On the fourth day from Tehran eight hundred Turkmans came upon the caravan, but feared to make the travellers—Wolff and his companions—prisoners, owing to the fact that it came from a city infected with the plague. He reached Shah Rud in safety. But from this place eastward to Mashhad the road was in the possession of the Turkmans; the missionary was led, therefore, to take a more circuitous route through the district of Cayen to Burchund, intending to go thence to Herat, Samarcand, and Bokhara. He was cautioned to avoid the Governor of Burchund, because that prince was now in rebellion against the ruler of Persia. The distance from Rostan to Burchund is seven caravan

stations or seven days' travel. The missionary reached this place in due time, and succeeded in getting out of the town without being molested, but after he had proceeded on his way on foot about forty miles, he was overtaken by two armed horsemen, who notified him that the governor demanded his return to Burchund. He therefore retraced his steps—a journey of three days. He was conducted to the presence of the Ameer and his chiefs. The eccentric ways of Wolff served him well on this occasion, for the Persians appear to have been greatly perplexed to know what to make of a man who professed to be searching for the lost ten tribes, and who had travelled so far "to tell them of Jesus;" and they were in doubt whether he was "devil possessed" or, in truth, a devout dervish. But if his audience had no reverence for the living Jews, nor care for the lost ten tribes, they had some admiration for the verses of the poet Saadi, which Wolff was able to recite. "The world, O brother, remaineth not to any one; fix, therefore, your heart on the Creator of the world, and it is enough." These fierce men had some respect for the appearance of piety, which was deepened by their superstitious fears, and they were prepared to listen favorably to this declaration of the purpose of this "wandering Jew": "I have found out by the reading of this book" (then he held before them a Bible) "that one can only bind one's heart to God by believing in Jesus; and, believing this, I am like one who walks in a beautiful garden, and smells the odor of the roses, and hears the warbling of the nightingale; and I do not like to be the only one so happy, and, therefore, I go about in the world for the purpose of inviting others to walk with me, arm in arm, in the same beautiful garden." To this declaration the whole company responded: "A man of God, drunk with the love of God! A dervish indeed!" The Ameer desired to hear from the book—the Bible—which Wolff at all times carried under his arm. Persian and Arabic Bibles were now brought out, and about forty copies disposed of. A few days after this affair many persons were found reading the Bible in the open market-place. The missionary remained fourteen days in Burchund in the house of Hajah Mohammad Javad, a dervish whose fame extended throughout Turkistan and Central Asia to Chinese Tartary, Hindustan, Thibet, and China, and who was well acquainted with the names and achievements of the principal men of Europe and India.

Wolff was treated with kindness by the

Ameer, and advised by him to proceed directly to Toorsheez and Nishapoor, where Abbas Mirza, with an army of twenty thousand men, had arrived. This advice he adopted, and left Burchund with an escort of two men. Near Toorsheez they passed a village which had but just been pillaged by Turkmans. Only one of his servants remained with him, for the other had left him with these words: "I leave you, because if you are not made a slave in a few days you may cut off my beard the first moment you see me."

At Toorsheez, the governor, Take Khan, assured Wolff that he could not give him an escort to Nishapoor, for the forces of Abbas Mirza were now near, and Ishak Khan was at Torbat-Hydarea, about fifty miles distant. Though acting with Abbas Mirza, who was endeavoring to suppress the slave trade in Persia, yet this khan and his subjects were carrying on the traffic with the Turkmans. The missionary, attended by one servant, set out with a caravan of fifteen muleteers, bearing presents from Toon, Tabbas, and Khaf, to Abbas Mirza.

After a journey of five hours they came to the village of Rooshne Abad; here horsemen of Ishak Khan were seen in the highway. Wolff immediately wrote in some Arabic and Persian Bibles a message to Abbas Mirza, and in English, to be read by the officers in the army of Abbas. These books were left with the chief of the village, and the missionary set out for the next station, three hours distant. Preceding the caravan a little way, he had gone to within a quarter of a mile of the village Sangaved, when he heard the firing of guns and yelling of the men. He might now have escaped to the village, but he retired to the caravan. His servant and the other men were made prisoners and stripped naked by a band of marauders, and were now tied one by one to a horse's tail. One of the robbers rode up to Wolff shouting, "Pool! pool!" ("Money! money!") The whole company gathered about him, ordered him to dismount, stripped him naked, and tied him by a long rope to the tail of a cavalryman's horse, and one of the band came up with a whip and laid the lash on Wolff's bare back. The sequel may be learned from the missionary's own record. The chief of the gang, a horrid-looking fellow, of black complexion, with a blue, diseased tongue, came up to him and asked him, "Who art thou?" and Wolff replied, "I am a follower of Jesus," when the chief, horror struck, replied: "A follower of Jesus!" "Yes; and I go about for His sake." The man

immediately ordered that Wolff should be untied and permitted to ride on one of the horses. A few rags were put about his body. The road was covered with snow and ice, and the company left the highway and camped in the forest, where they made a large fire and made free with the sugar and provisions which Wolff had brought. Finally they put a value on the slaves they had taken, and Wolff's servant they valued at ten tomans; but when they came up to Wolff and looked at him, they said : " We do not like this fellow at all ; he stares so at us." Then one of them said, " He is worth five tomans," while another one said, " I would not give half that price for him." While thus examining the prisoners and their effects, they found the letters of recommendation which Wolff had with him. Learning from him the purport of these letters, they were greatly alarmed, and said : " This is a dangerous man. Abbas Mirza is come to exterminate slavery, and our khan is trying to come to an understanding with him. Abbas Mirza will hear of our having made a slave of him and will immediately send an order to our chief that we should not only dismiss this Englishman, but all the rest of the slaves gathered in Torbat-Hydarea. The best thing we can do is to kill him, and to say, when he is called for, that the Turkmans have taken him." All this was said in Wolff's presence. He therefore went up to them, stared in their faces, and said : " I have understood all you have said, and the resolution to which you are come. Your reasoning is very good ; but it has only one fault, and that is that you are too late ; I also know how to calculate, and have laid my plans accordingly." They asked, " What plans have you made ?" He then told them how he had written in the Bibles and left them to be sent to Abbas Mirza. On discovering this they became pale as death ; but fearing that they might be driven, in despair, to do what they had intended to do after mature deliberation, he now presented to them the prospect of gaining more money by desisting from their intention of killing him. So he said to them : " You have already taken eighty tomans from me. The books which you have taken are worth two hundred tomans if you sell them to Jews, for they are Hebrew Bibles. The learned mullahs of Mashhad will purchase from you the other books for one hundred tomans, and the clothing and victuals you have also taken from me are worth ten tomans. You say, too, that I am worth five tomans. Now if you do exactly what I tell you, you shall have from

me one hundred tomans more." They asked, " How will you procure these one hundred tomans more ?" Two Bibles were then brought, and Wolff wrote in them in the Hebrew to the Jews of Torbat-Hydarea : " Know ye that I have been made a slave by your townsmen, the Kerahe. I beg you to tell the bearers that on my arrival in Torbat-Hydarea you will pay for me a ransom of one hundred tomans." Two of the robbers now set out for this place, and the rest followed them slowly. However, the chief, Hassan, became very uneasy, because they heard that Abbas Mirza had actually sent a messenger to the great khan on Joseph Wolff's account, and again he voted that Wolff should be put to death ; but six of the robbers stood by Wolff, and swore they would betray their companions if they harmed him. Arriving at Hydarea, the prisoner was permitted to remain one night with the Jews of that place. The snow lay knee-deep in the streets. Wolff had neither shoes nor stockings, and not even a shirt. That night he preached to the Jews of that city. Early in the morning the Kerahe came and conducted him to the house of Hassan Khan. Here he was placed in a dungeon, where his servant and other fellow-travellers were chained, with fifty other persons all naked. He believed that the Kurd intended to starve him to death before Ishak Khan should arrive, as the khan was not expected until after several days. But after he had been chained about two hours suddenly the thunder of cannon was heard, and a voice cried, " Ishak Khan has come !" The situation was changed at once, for a man came and opened the door of the dungeon and cried out, " Is not there an Englishman here ?" It was a Persian officer of the khan, who said : " Away with the chains from the Englishman and all the rest, for slavery is at an end throughout Torbat-Hydarea." The fetters were immediately stickeen off, and above two hundred other persons were set at liberty.

The Jews of Torbat-Hydarea seem not to have been moved to any practical sympathy, for Wolff was permitted to depart for Mashhad with no other clothing than the rags which the robbers had given him, and he had no money with which to pay the caravan passage to that city, but was obliged to arrange to pay on reaching his destination. No part of the funds taken from him was restored, though the robbers were forced to give up all of it to the governor. When Wolff was brought into the presence of that officer, the khan said : " Abbas Mirza has written to me that you go about to show

the nations the way of truth ; for my part, I have no religion. I have already passed this world and the other world. I have, however, one good quality, and that is justice ; tell me, therefore, the truth, and you shall see my justice. How much money have these rascals taken from you ?" Wolff replied, " Eighty tomans." The khan repeated the words, " Eighty tomans ! " and instantly ordered the Kurd Hassan Khan and all his followers to be flogged. After he had recovered the money, he counted it and said, " Now you shall see my justice," and putting all of it into his own pocket, he said to Wolff, " Now you may go in peace."

Abbas Mirza with his army entered Mashhad soon after the arrival of Wolff. The missionary was, therefore, soon provided with clothing and funds. He remained in that city until February, 1832, preaching to both Jews and Mohammedans. The time seemed auspicious for the continuance of his journey eastward, for the successes of Abbas Mirza had intimidated the Turkmans, and a deputation of them waited upon the Persian prince, and to them our traveller was committed by the ruler of Persia.

Wolff writes of meeting Jews in Sarakhs, on the eastern border, and in the desert about Merv, who had become identified with the Turkmans. He remained three months in Bokhara. He gives the number of people in that city at that time as one hundred and eighty thousand, of whom fifteen thousand were Jews. The city had eleven gates, a circumference of fifteen English miles, three hundred and sixty mosques, and one hundred Mohammedan schools and colleges. During this time he labored with Jews, and records that he baptized twenty who professed the Christian faith.

It would be foreign to our purpose to follow the course of this man in other countries. He went from Bokhara to Kabul, and thence to India and England. His third tour through Persia was made in pursuance of a purpose to ascertain the fate of Colonel Stoddard and Captain Connelly. These persons were understood to have been murdered in Bokhara after Wolff's departure from that city, but definite information as to their fate had not been obtained. The funds for this journey were contributed by a few personal friends of Wolff, and he was not the representative of any missionary society. He went through Erzeroum and Armenia, and arrived in Tabriz on January 12th, 1844. On the 28th of that month, at Horumdurah, he met with American missionaries from Oroomiah. These were, it is

probable, Perkins and Grant, who made a hasty journey to the capital. He reached Tehran on February 3d, and Mashhad a few weeks later. At Merv he met dervishes who knew of the death of Stoddard and Connelly, and some of the Jews whom he found were present at the execution of those gentlemen, and gave a particular account of the affair. In April he arrived in Bokhara, where he was detained and his life threatened. He was released, after several months' detention, by the interposition of the Persian Minister, who accompanied him on his return to Persia.

Whatever may be said of the eccentricities of Wolff and his apparent lack of prudence, it must be admitted that his travels suggested some important missionary movements. He was the means of good to many, and preached the Gospel to many who had never heard it.

In the "Travels and Adventures of Wolff" there occurs a note purporting to be in the words of Dr. Perkins, of Oroomiah, which states that "Messrs. Smith and Dwight visited the Nestorians in the spring of 1830, induced to do so by a paragraph in a paper from the pen of Dr. Walsh, embodying facts communicated to him by Dr. Wolff, who had visited them several years before. In consequence of the report of Messrs. Smith and Dwight, I was sent out as the first missionary to the Nestorians in 1833. On the same authority it is stated that the British and Foreign Bible Society printed their copies of the Chaldean Bible from the same manuscripts which Dr. Wolff sent to that society in 1824, and which he brought from Oormia." One of the secretaries of the American Board wrote "that the facts communicated by Dr. Wolff to Dr. Walsh concerning the Nestorians were embodied by the latter in an article printed in a publication in Virginia at the time when the Secretary of the American Board was preparing instructions for Smith and Dwight in reference to their contemplated tour in Armenia. The article entitled 'Chaldee in Persia' came under the notice of the secretary, and led to positive instructions to visit that people should it be found practicable, and to see whether the churches in this western world had any duty to perform to them."

As early as 1825 there was a German mission at Shusha, in Southern Georgia. The whole country south of the Caucasus Mountains was for centuries a possession of the Persian kings, and this country had but recently been taken from its Mohammedan rulers. A part of Georgia yet remained in

the possession of the Persians. Shusha is situated in the region of the Kara Bogh. The mission in that place, though not strictly confined to Persia, may properly be considered in connection with the missions of that country, for the language used by the missionaries was, in part, the Persian and the trans-Caucasian Turkish, which is spoken to great extent in Persia, and several books were prepared by them which have had their principal circulation in that country. The mission was established by the Basel Society. In 1825 the missionaries were Salter, Honacher, and Zaremba. The last named was a Russian count, who had been private secretary to Capo d'Istria, Chancellor of Russia in the reign of the Czar Alexander I. Zaremba was a person of extensive learning, and able to speak with fluency twelve languages. Religious convictions received in reading the Bible and the works of Jung Stilling led him to resign all worldly prospects and to become a missionary. He therefore went to Basel, and in time was sent to "Tartary," for so trans Caucasia was called. In Shusha he taught a school composed for the most part of Armenian children, but attended by the children of Mohammedans also. The work of the missionaries of this station was, in great part, that of translating the Scriptures into the Armenian, Georgian, and Turkish languages, and the preparation of doctrinal and controversial works in the Persian. The work composed in Persian by Pfander, called "Mezon al Hack, the Scale of Truth," covers the controversy between Mohammedans and Christians. "The Key of Mysteries" discusses the doctrine of the Trinity. Both of these works have been circulated in Persia, and being in the language of that country, are specially useful there. In 1835 the mission was discontinued by the order of the Russian Government. The order related to all Protestant missions in Southern Russia. There was a press connected with the mission. The use of this was permitted for a time, but the entire establishment was soon closed. The Scriptures were circulated by the agents of this mission in Georgia and Persia. In 1833 the missionaries reported an increasing inquiry among Mohammedans for the Word of God, and they mention the fact that the Scriptures were read in a school of Mohammedan children, and special notice is taken of the conversion of a young Persian who came to Shamakha from Persia and there received a copy of the Persian New Testament from an awakened Armenian. The reading of the New Testament and the con-

versations had with the Armenian led to a conviction of the truths of the Gospel in the mind of this young man.

While the mission in Shusha was drawing to a close, measures were being taken in the United States destined to result in the establishment of a mission two hundred miles southward of Shusha, which has now continued in operation more than half a century, and covers all Northern Persia with its operations. But there were transient and itinerant missions preliminary to it. Messrs. Smith and Dwight extended their tour of exploration to the Nestorians of Persia. They reached Tabriz in December, 1830, and remained there until the following spring. In March, 1831, they proceeded to Salmas and Oroomiah. They were received with favor by the Nestorians. The result of their investigations is recorded in a volume entitled "Researches in Armenia, Including a Journey through Asia Minor into Georgia, with a Visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians." The favorable report of the explorers led to the appointment, in 1833, of Rev. Justin Perkins as missionary to the Nestorians. Later the Rev. J. L. Merrick arrived, having been appointed by the American Board to a separate mission called the Mission to the Mohammedans of Persia. Mr. Merrick left Tabriz in June, 1836, in company with Messrs. Hoernle and Schneider, on a mission of exploration among the Mohammedans. His two companions were German missionaries of the Basel Society. They journeyed together as far as Tehran and Ispahan. In the latter city a mob was incited through the report that Franks had come to subvert Islam. The mob was dispersed by Persian soldiers sent by the governor, and the house occupied by the missionaries was protected by a guard of thirty soldiers. The Germans returned to Tabriz, and Mr. Merrick continued his journey to Shiraz, where he remained about seven months. He there became acquainted with Mirza Seid Ale, who had assisted Henry Martyn to revise his translation of the New Testament. Mr. Merrick's conclusion, after these experiences, was that "a renunciation of Mohammedanism would be followed by a violent death even in Shiraz." In 1837 he returned to Ispahan, where he remained ten days without molestation. Proposals were made to him by the Armenian archbishop of Ispahan to assist in establishing and supporting a school, but they could not agree as to the principles and methods of conducting the school. The missionary returned to Oroomiah. In 1837 he was, during three

months, with Hassan Mirza, an uncle of the Shah. He resided during the greater part of the year 1838 in Tabriz, and in March, 1839, married in that city Miss Emma Taylor, of Portsmouth, England. The governor of the province of Azarbajan gave Mr. Merrick a firman authorizing him to open a school for any who should desire to attend; but it seems to have been understood that Christianity should not be taught in the school. The proposition was submitted to the Board of Missions, but they judged that the condition as to Christian instruction, if not expressed, yet understood, would be incompatible with missionary work, and the offer was therefore declined. In 1842 Mr. Merrick joined the mission to the Nestorians, and the distinct mission to the Mohammedans, to which he had been appointed, was abandoned. He retired from the mission in 1844 and returned to America. He has left a valuable contribution to mission work in his translation into the Persian language of Keith's "Treatise on Prophecy," published by the London Religious Tract Society.

In the year 1835 measures were taken by the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America for the establishment of a mission in Persia. In November of that year the Rev. Horatio Southgate, Jr., of Portland, Me., was appointed exploring agent. The object of this mission was stated to be the conversion of Mohammedans to the Christian faith. In the following year the missionary sailed to Havre on his way to Constantinople. At the latter place he remained to study the Turkish and Persian languages. It was planned that he should be joined in that city by associates who should come later. Two gentlemen were appointed to accompany him, but were unable to fulfil the engagement. Having been in Constantinople nearly a year, Mr. Southgate undertook the exploration alone, and left Constantinople in June, 1837. He went by the usual caravan route from Trebizond through Armenia, and reached Tehran in October of that year. In the following month he travelled to Hamadan and Kermanshah. In the latter place he was detained by dangerous illness. On recovering he went to Bagdad and Mosul, and returned to Constantinople in April and to the United States in August, 1838, and the mission was never renewed. Mr. Southgate has given an account of his adventures and explorations in two octavo volumes which contain much useful information.

In the year 1840 Mr. Ainsworth, acting under the auspices of the British Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and of the Geographical Society of London, England, visited the Patriarch of the Nestorians. He was accompanied by Mr. Rassam, of the British Consular Service. These gentlemen proceeded to Oroomiah on their tour of inspection. The report made by Mr. Ainsworth led the Society of Christian Knowledge and Gospel Propagation to send, two years later, the Rev. Percy Badger as a missionary to the Nestorians of the mountains. In 1842 Mr. Badger visited the Nestorian Patriarch "with letters and presents from the dignitaries of the Church of England." He resided much of his time in Mosul when Dr. Grant, of the American Mission to the Nestorians, and his associates were prosecuting their mission in the mountains, and he was in Mosul at the time of Dr. Grant's death.

The most prominent features of Mr. Badger's efforts were opposition to the American Mission and endeavors to secure the secular as well as ecclesiastical supremacy of the Patriarch of the Nestorians, and to turn that power to the maintenance of the mission which he represented. His efforts were as successful in the accomplishment of the first-named purpose as they were futile in the second, and disastrous to the Patriarch in every way. That dignitary was quite ready to accept the temporal power, but too timid and weak to fight for it, though he encouraged his people to resist the Kurdish forces. Duped by the expectation of aid from England and investment with temporal sovereignty by the Ottoman Porte, he incurred the displeasure of his Kurdish rulers. A general massacre of Nestorian men, women, and children followed, attended by the most revolting cruelties, and the Nestorians were subject to new oppressions, and the Patriarch fled to save his life.

Mr. Badger returned to England in 1845, and the mission was discontinued. He has left an extended and valuable account of his researches in two octavo volumes, entitled "The Nestorians and their Ritual."

REVIEW OF THE PERSIAN MISSIONS.

There are four missions working in Persia. The Church Missionary Society of London has sustained a mission at Julfa, in Central-Eastern Persia, since 1877. Julfa is a suburb of Ispahan, and inhabited by Armenians. The mission began with efforts for these people. Rev. Robert Bruce, the

senior missionary of that station, labored independently several years before the adoption of the work by the parent society. The work is confined mainly to Julfa, where there are prosperous schools and a church of natives—Armenians. Mr. Bruce has given much time to the revision of the Scriptures, his great work being so far the revision of the entire New Testament in Persian.

Ispahan is noted as the capital of the Sufee dynasty of kings. It is now largely in ruins. Julfa is noted as the place assigned by Shah Abbas to the captive Armenians. It has long been the seat of the Armenian archiepiscopate for Eastern Persia and India.

There is also a mission of the Church of England in the mountains of Kurdistan and Western Persia established under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Recently the Swedes have opened mission work in Tabriz, and one of this mission has recently died of cholera.

The mission of the American Presbyterian Church (North) is by far the most extended in that country. It has five stations and their many "out-stations," divided into two missions known as the Eastern and Western Persia Missions. In the first are the stations Tehran and Hamadan and the villages under their control; in the second are the stations Oroomiah, Tabriz, Salmas, and Mosul in Turkey. American missionaries reside in the stations and superintend the native churches and schools which they may have established in the stations and rural districts, and from these centres they carry on a varied and extended work of evangelization. The work of the entire Persian mission covers so much ground and is so complicated that no adequate presentation of it can be made in a brief review.

Tehran.—This city is the capital of the ruling dynasty, the Kajar Shahs. Up to 1870 Tehran was considered one of the most unhealthful cities of the world. Since that date very great changes have been made in the sanitary conditions, and it is now thought to be the most healthful town of the kingdom, although the largest. The city boasts of electric lights and street cars, and a short railroad to one of the suburbs is the only one in the whole realm.

The mission here is not of long standing, having been opened in 1872. It appears to be in favor with the local authorities, the Shah having made a liberal donation to the native Church, and having in person visited the mission establishment. The grounds and buildings owned by the mission are extensive and valuable. The usual agencies

of schools, publications, and medical missionaries are employed. The mission work is carried on largely in the language of the nation—the Persian—and appeals to all sects and races of people, as may be seen from the make-up of the boys' school, which reports 52 Armenians, 17 Jews, 18 Moslems, 4 Fire-worshippers, 2 Armenians, and 1 Nestorian. The attendance of Moslem pupils indicates a great advance in the tolerance practised by the authorities and in the courage of the missionaries. The total number of pupils in the boys' school is 94.

The girl's school, called "Iran Bethel," has been favored with the presence of 74 pupils; and a primary school has been sustained for the benefit of the Jews in the Jewish quarter of the city. The evangelistic and itinerant efforts have extended to a large number of towns in Khorasan. Doctor Smith, by her professional services, has gained access to many Persian homes, and she and Mrs. Potter have given special attention to efforts in behalf of native women. The loss of the medical missionary in the withdrawal of Dr. Torrence is regretted, especially as the station had new facilities for the enlargement and efficiency of the medical department. Some of the families of the station have suffered from serious sickness, and the mortality among the natives from the cholera has been very great. It does not appear that any of the missionaries have suffered from that scourge.

Hamadan.—The site of the ancient capital of Media is now occupied by the small and ruined city called Hamadan. The place boasts of great antiquity, and the possession of the tomb of Queen Esther and of Mordecai. For this latter reason it is the place of pilgrimage of devout Jews, and a colony, now numbering some three thousand of this people, have for a long time been residents of the place. A congregation and school have been sustained by the Persian Mission in this city since 1869, but the town was not occupied by American missionaries until 1871. The working force has been reduced by the withdrawal of Dr. Alexander, and the retirement on account of ill-health of Miss Hunter. The church has a membership of 85, and the Sabbath-school has 140 scholars enrolled. The high school for boys has had during the year an average attendance of 75. The Faith Hubbard School, in the charge of Miss Montgomery, reports an attendance of 104 scholars, including fifty-four boarders. Dr. Holmes, formerly of Tabriz, has been recently appointed to the medical work in this station.

Statistics for the Eastern Persia Mission.

Communicants.....	139
Total number of pupils.....	485
Total number of pupils in S. S....	210

Oroomiah.—From 1834 until 1872 the city of Oroomiah was the only point in Persia permanently occupied by American missionaries. Heroic efforts were made to found stations on the mountains of Kurdistan, but they were finally abandoned, and labor was centred in this city. In late years there has been an expansion of the labors from Nestorian Christians to Armenians and Mohammedans.

This station has all the appointments of a large and prosperous mission, according to the latest notions of equipment for mission work. It has a large number of native churches and schools, a seminary for girls, a medical missionary and hospital, a press, theological school and college. The past year has been distinguished for revival influences in the congregations, increased attendance at the churches, and the addition to their membership of 255 souls, "a number," says the report, "never before exceeded but once in the annals of the station." Mention is made of several sources of discouragement, as the quarrels in the churches, "worldly seductions," intemperance encouraged by "wine weddings," ambition for social elevation and worldly position, and the debasing habit of mendicity, many being inclined to travel in Russia and other countries for the purpose of begging. The harbingers of good are the activity of the laymen in many of the churches, the willingness of the people to hear the Gospel, increased spiritual power, faith, and a missionary spirit.

The congregations are organized under a General Synod practically covering Western Persia, and having a membership of 2344. Owing to the poverty of the people, the advance in the way of self-support has been slow. The Fish Seminary has had an enrolment of 100 female pupils, of whom 77 were boarders.

Mrs. Shedd, Miss Van Duzee and Miss Green have given special attention to Moslem women.

Tabriz.—This city, next to Tehran, is the largest in the kingdom, and with the exception of some twenty-five hundred Armenian Christians and a half score of Europeans is peopled wholly by Mohammedans.

The station in this city was opened in

1873. Mission effort has here met with decided opposition from the Armenian archbishop and his people, and Mohammedan converts have at times been sorely persecuted. Yet in spite of all opposition there is to-day a church of 60 members, thriving schools, and a cheering outlook. The members of the mission rejoice in the completion of a new church built by the generous gift of Mr. I. F. Covington, of Brooklyn, N. Y., as a memorial of his daughter, and new buildings for the use of the boys' school.

The cholera has prevailed in Tabriz. Of this mention is made in another column.

Seventy-five boys have attended the boys' school, 25 of whom were boarders. The station has 180 pupils in common schools. The girls' school has 25 scholars. Miss Holliday has given much attention to Mohammedan and Armenian families. Here, as in other places, the medical practitioner, Miss Bradford, is cheerfully received to the homes of all classes.

Salmas.—This name is given to a village and plain near the northern extremity of Lake Oroomiah. The mission station is at the village of Oola on this plain. The punishment of the murderer of Mrs. Wright with life imprisonment is thought to have alienated the Armenians from the missionaries. This fact alone shows the need they have of mission labors. The Christian population of the plain is Armenian and Nestorian, the former making the larger part of that population. The location is thought to be favorable for labors among this people and in the mountains on the west. This is one of the recently established stations, and labors under the difficulty of lacking an adequate number of missionaries. The seven village schools report an attendance of 248 scholars.

Mosul.—In the early days of the mission to Persia efforts were made to make Mosul a centre of missions on the western side of the mountains. But the attempt was attended with singular mortality. Such was the number of deaths of missionaries sent to this field that the effort was abandoned. It is to be hoped that no such fatality will attend the present attempt of the Presbyterian Board. The American Board has recently transferred its work there to the Presbyterians. It is within the last two years that the latter have made preparations to occupy that city. Our missionaries there will need to exercise great care and wisdom if they escape the usual effect of the intense heat and malaria of that region.

Statistics for the Western Mission.

Native teachers and helpers.....	146
Number of communicants.....	2,344
Total number of pupils	2,964
Pupils in Sabbath-schools.....	4,670

THE SCOURGE IN PERSIA.

"TEHRAN, September 15, 1892.

"The deaths from cholera in this city between September 6th and September 11th were 2335. In the Shah's camp at Sultaneeyah, 150 miles northwest of Tehran, in the province of Irak-Ajemee, there have been 130 deaths from cholera."—*New York Morning Advertiser*, September 16th, 1892.

LONDON, September 23, 1892.

Mr. Zerlendi, a London merchant, writing from Persia to the *Chronicle* in regard to the cholera epidemic, says :

"The conduct of Miss Bradford, the American lady who came to Tauris for the American missions, stands forth in such striking relief as to be worthy of note. In the face of the general panic, when everybody was deserting the cholera-stricken town, she worked with calm, unremitting attention under great difficulties, nursing cholera patients and encouraging others under the awful circumstances of the battle with the epidemic. I do not think it is an exaggeration to state that hundreds of Persians owe their lives to the courage and devotion of this heroic woman."—*New York Evening Telegram*.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S MISSION.

BY THE REV. ISAAC DOOMAN, MISSIONARY.

From *The Living Church* (Epsi.), September 17, 1892.

This mission is called the Archbishop's Mission because it is not connected with any established missionary society of the Anglican Church, but from its very origin has been under the patronage of the archbishop.

The motive of establishing this mission was not to proselyte, nor to interfere with the internal affairs of one of the historic churches of the Orient, as some other Christian bodies have done, but to assist those who have suffered Mohammedan persecution for more than ten centuries. The courage which they have displayed, the tenacity with which they have held the faith are worthy of the admiration of Christendom.

A few words on the origin of this mission. At the beginning of the fourth decade of the present century, an English clergyman,

the Rev. Dr. Badger, was sent to the court of the Assyrian Patriarch, Mar Shimoon, but the "Evangelicals," headed by the Assyrian explorer, Sir H. Luard, made so many attacks upon the policy, because the "field" already had been occupied by the American Congregationalists, that finally Dr. Badger was withdrawn. The whole Church, however, both the clergy and the laity, never ceased from sending petitions and repeated solicitations to the archbishop, praying for help. During Dr. Tait's archbishopric a little exploring work was performed by the prolific Church historian, Dr. Cutts, but the honor of putting the mission upon a sure basis belongs to the present archbishop, who has entrusted the work to an enterprising layman, Mr. A. Riley.

The mission, as it will be seen, is very young, and it is not yet time to expect appreciable results. Still, the first-fruits are beyond the expectation of any sanguine observer. In a recent letter from the Rev. Y. M. Neesan, one of the priests of the mission, we hear of very encouraging news. Mr. Neesan writes that the work is carried on under two principal departments—educational and evangelistic. In regard to the former, Mr. Neesan writes : "Our educational work is divided into two distinct parts—direct teaching and printing of the most important religious and educational books from the ancient Syriac literature."

In regard to the former, Mr. Neesan says : "Last winter we had 96 schools scattered in Persia and Turkey. In our college, if it is worthy of that high name, we teach both ancient and modern Syriac, English, Persian, and Turkish, and those sciences which will be of immediate utility to the people. The senior class is composed of deacons, who most pressingly need a theological education. The total number of students is 120."

Besides this, the mission had a few higher schools both in Persia and Turkey serving as feeders to their college. In regard to the village schools Mr. Neesan writes : "These schools are the strength and beauty of our work. The ignorance of illiteracy, which has like a mist enveloped the Church for ages, and absolutely stopped its progress, is gradually disappearing. Hitherto from the lack of readers the priest alone has read the whole service, sometimes even the responses ; but now in every village we have a chorus of boys and girls who respond beautifully ; so that the whole service has risen from a state of tiresome monotony to its pristine

attractiveness." One of these village schools is sustained by the insignificant sum of \$20 a year; the donor of the amount becomes its patron, and possesses the authority of giving to it any name which he pleases.

The mission has also established a seminary for girls, which is under the care of four Sisters from England. This school had 60 pupils, divided into three classes. In it not only reading and writing are taught, but also cooking, sewing, and other household duties which a future wife expects to perform. In regard to the Sisters, Mr. Neesan writes: "They are respected and loved by the whole nation; their self-sacrifice and holy zeal evoke admiration from everybody."

In regard to the press work, Mr. Neesan says: "Hitherto nine volumes have been produced from our press; these are: (1) *Taksa* (the P. B.); (2) *Psalter*; (3) *Marriage service* separately printed; (4 and 5) grammar in both ancient and modern Syriac; (6 and 7) catechism; (8) spelling-book; (9) a list of books in ancient Syriac." They experience great difficulty in collating the different versions, as most of them deviate from each other.

In regard to the general progress of learning, Mr. Neesan is very hopeful, and speaks in encouraging language: "The ancient Syriac is again coming to the front; the young men are beginning to investigate the learning treasured up in the language, and the handwriting is gradually improving."

Of the evangelistic work Mr. Neesan writes: "All the priests teach during the week and visit the churches on Sundays, preaching and doing other necessary work."

One of the most important features of the work has been the helping of the oppressed Christians in the Mohammedan courts. While the priests are enjoined from interfering in political matters, still their presence is a great check to the bloodthirsty appetite of the oppressor. Mr. Neesan mentions a case in which help was given to a Mohammedan who had become a Christian. Also medical assistance was given gratis to the needy by the Rev. Mr. Brown and by one of the Sisters.

Mr. Neesan closes his very interesting letter with a buoyant spirit for the present and a Christian hope for the future. He says: "The general condition of the whole nation during the six years of the mission has remarkably improved. Those dark, damp, and tumbled-down church buildings which we had formerly, now mostly have been either rebuilt or repaired and improved,

the congregation bearing more than half of the expenses. Instead of a few old men and women huddled together, shivering in a cold corner, beside 'O Lord, have mercy upon us,' and 'Amen,' hardly knowing anything else to say, now all churches are crowded with large congregations, with intelligent faces and shining expressions, and all take part in the service."

I am sure that the heart of every loyal churchman will throb with joy on hearing this news of one of the most ancient branches of the Catholic Church. The result ultimately cannot be without influence upon the final Christianization of the continent of Asia. Those who are familiar with historic data know well the zeal with which the ancestors of the present Assyrian Christians carried the Gospel into the distant regions of India, China, and Japan, centuries ago. "The whole Protestant missions of the nineteenth century," says the late Unitarian, Dr. Clarke, "have not produced results equal to a small remnant now left in India of the once powerful Syrian Church in the far East." "A dry place which once has been a river bed, there is strong hope to become a river once more," is an Assyrian saying, and may the Almighty, by His mercies, grant that it may be realized in the history of their own race.

The American Church has been represented in the mission by the Rev. Y. M. Neesan, an Assyrian by birth, and a man of considerable practical ability and of unsullied personal character. He is a graduate of the General Theological Seminary, New York, and is supported by its missionary society; both the faculty and the students take great interest in the work, who, I think, will furnish any information to those who intend to help such a noble cause.

REVIEW OF THE MISSIONARY BOARDS.

THE AMERICAN BOARD.

The annual meeting of the Board will be held this year under peculiar and extraordinary circumstances. It is not so much that a presidential election campaign will be in full tide by October 4th, at which time the meetings commence. This it necessarily encounters every fourth year. But it is chiefly the circumstance that there will be upon our people at that time the stress and bustle of preparation for the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition, taking place two weeks afterward.

That this meeting will have strong divert-

ing influences to contend with is obvious. But this may not be after all a detriment. It may be transformed into an element of power. There are not a few Christians at home, and especially not a few abroad, who look forward to these annual meetings with a most tender and prayerful interest.

The American Board has 538 missionaries and assistant missionaries, 2648 native helpers and preachers in 1287 stations and out-stations, 38,226 living communicants, 118,507 from the beginning of mission work, 3554 added last year, 46,403 native youths under instruction, 8653 in the higher institutions. The field of this Board embraces 130,000,000 of the unevangelized.

The total advance for eleven months in receipts was \$39,890.69. The year closed with the month of August.

The annual meeting of the Board is to be held at Chicago, October 4th-7th. The *Missionary Herald* says: "The friends at Chicago are anticipating a large and enthusiastic meeting of the Board, and they are making every preparation for the assembly, including, in their generosity, among those for whom entertainment will be provided, all home missionaries under commission and the officers of all the Congregational benevolent societies."

THE PRESBYTERIAN BOARD.

"The Presbyterians have done a novel thing in their mission rooms at 53 Fifth Avenue, New York. Mr. W. Henry Grant, of Philadelphia, has just returned from a two years' visit among the foreign missions. The Executive Board of the Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church has invited Mr. Grant to occupy a desk in the mission house, and to give the Board the benefit of his observation and study. This Mr. Grant has consented to do. As he does it at his own charge, the Board is put to no expense. Mr. Grant has always been deeply interested in Christian Endeavor, and he is announced as very willing to direct the Presbyterian wing of that organization in its work for foreign missions. The Board has most cordially welcomed Mr. Grant, and heartily commends him, especially to the young people."—*The Examiner*.

The Presbyterian Board proposes the establishment of a home for the children of missionaries. A lady has offered to contribute \$5000 toward the purchase of a home in Wooster, O., provided others shall contribute \$15,000 more, making \$20,000, and she will contribute \$500 per annum toward this support for five years, provided

others shall contribute a total of \$1500 per annum. Meanwhile the trustees of Wooster University, through their president, Rev. S. F. Scovel, have offered perpetual free tuition to the children of missionaries in the various departments of the institution under their direction. There is, therefore, in the project thus set forth, not only provision for a temporary home for missionaries' children, but also for their education.

Dr. Ellinwood, Secretary of the Board, says, with reference to the proposals:

"In the circumstances, the Board of Foreign Missions feels constrained to regard this as an indication of the will of Providence, and gives its sanction to the enterprise, provided it shall not be allowed to trench on the ordinary contributions for the current work. The Board would deprecate the plan of taking this enterprise up as a special object for woman's work, or for Sunday-schools, but would recommend that contributions shall be made of not less than \$100 each, and given by those who at the same time will not allow these gifts to interfere with their regular contributions. The Board, after conference with the friends of the enterprise, recommends the raising of \$15,000 for providing and furnishing the two homes, in addition to the \$5000 already pledged, and \$1500 per annum, for five years, toward the support of these homes, in addition to the \$500 already pledged.

"To give emphasis to this recommendation, and to aid in establishing the contemplated homes, the Board has appointed the Rev. Eugene P. Dunlap, of our Siam Mission, at present in the United States on furlough, to secure the necessary funds."

THE BAPTISTS OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION.

The Baptists of the Southern Convention observe the present year as the centennial of missions. They propose to celebrate October 2d as the centennial anniversary of the birth of missions. It is proposed this year (1) to raise \$250,000 as a fund for "Bible translations, chapel building, a church edifice fund, and other permanent work;" (2) to hold a mass meeting at Louisville, Ky., October 2d-4th, the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of Kittering, England; (3) to hold special meetings throughout the Church by committees appointed for the purpose; (4) to observe the second day of October as Children's Day in every Sunday-school throughout the South.

This society reports the names of 132 missionaries, besides native assistants; 36

male and female missionaries in Southern, Central, and Northern China; 16 in Africa; 17 in Italy; 22 in Brazil; 35 in Mexico, and 6 in Japan.

The American Baptists.—The proposal to raise \$1,000,000 for foreign missions among the Baptists of the North is meeting with an unexpectedly favorable and enthusiastic response; nearly five hundred pastors, and others, have consented to act as associational secretaries, and have entered heartily upon the work of securing a contribution from every church, and to enlist the churches in an effort to secure a contribution from every member of the church and congregation. This year is to be signalized by a grand, organized, and persistent attempt to bring every one associated with our Baptist churches at the North into line in carrying into effect the great commission, "Preach the Gospel to every creature."

Southern Presbyterians have missions in Brazil, China, Mexico, Italy, Japan, Africa, and Cuba, with a total of 94 missionaries, males and females.

MISSIONS AT THE GENERAL CONVENTION.

From *The Living Church* (Epis.), September 3, 1892.

The Board of Missions will convene on the third day of the session of the General Convention, Friday, October 7th. This body consists of the House of Bishops, the members of the House of Deputies, the delegates from the missionary jurisdictions and the members of the Board of Managers.

The report of the Board of Managers will be read, after which the scope of the work at home and abroad will be presented by the following bishops:

Bishop Garrett, missions in the Southwest; Bishop Talbot, missions in the Northwest; Bishop Nichols, missions on the Pacific coast; Bishop Thompson, missions in the Mississippi Valley; Bishop Whitaker (probably), the African mission; Bishop Hare, the China and Japan missions. Addresses will also be made on missions among the Indians by Bishop Whipple; and among the colored people of the South (probably) by Bishop Dadley. The sessions will continue throughout that day and evening. The Board will meet by adjournment from time to time to transact its business. The meetings will be open to all interested.

On Sunday evening, October 9th, the Right Rev. Dr. Coxe, Bishop of Western New York, will preach the triennial sermon before the Board of Missions; his subject being "The Progress of Christianity During Four Hundred Years, 1492-1892."

On the other Sunday evenings during the convention, there will be general missionary meetings, when the several missionary bishops and the missionaries from the foreign fields will be heard from. These meetings will be held in St. Peter's church.

Arrangements are in progress for a children's mass meeting in a large hall.

It is earnestly requested that the sermons in all the churches in Baltimore on Sunday morning, October 9th, may be upon some topic in connection with the missionary work of the Church.

Roman Catholic.—The *Roman Catholic Review* contains an appeal in behalf of negro missions. It publishes an appeal by "Father Slattery" to the young men of the country.

He says :

"St. Joseph's Seminary and the Epiphany Apostolic College are the nurseries of priests for the negro missions. We desire, then, to invite the young men of our faith to consider the missionary vocation to the colored people of the United States.

"There are fully eight millions of the African race in this country, less than two hundred thousand of whom are members of the true Church. More than half do not profess any sort of Christianity, and of those who do, a great proportion follow but low and superstitious forms of the more vulgar Protestant sects. Yet the colored people are naturally intelligent, have admirable moral qualities, and are remarkably gifted by nature with the religious sense, being fond of participating in public worship, easily led to accept the truths of revelation, and have a bright perception of the beauties of a moral and religious life."

THE MISSIONARY OF LUEBO.

Judge James Woods Lapsley, of Anniston, Ala., has ready for press a memorial volume of his son, Rev. Samuel Nowel Lapsley, lately deceased missionary of Luebo, and founder of the Congo Mission of the Southern Presbyterian Church.

The writer of the work is a preacher of the Southern Church and an ex circuit judge of Alabama.

The plan of the book is "to let the subject of the memoir speak for himself, the letters and diaries being followed closely as practicable, and with a minimum of editorial interference with the original text."

The memoir has been prepared by Judge Lapsley, and the letters were written for the most part to members of his family, and possess the charm of the informality of

home. They have also the fascination that pertains to all explorations and travels on the "Dark Continent," with the additional interest excited by the opening of mission work in new and trying fields and conditions.

The letters have been published one by one as they were received, with a few exceptions, in the course of the missionary's brief life in Africa; and they are to be reprinted in this memorial volume. For this reason—that they have been made public—we betray no confidence in referring to them.

Young Lapsley possessed in a distinguished degree two great elements of success—namely, youth and self-sacrifice. There is a charm in the very thought and form of youth. His appeals find a sympathetic hearing, and his faults pass at their minimum, and his virtues are always rated at their highest value. The equally good or even superior attainments of an old man go for nothing in comparison. Dr. Glenn, who translated the Old Testament into the Persian language, passed many years in self-denying toil on the banks of the Volga and the Caspian coast, but he is hardly known beyond the circle of a few scholars, while Henry Martyn, by his brief career of a few months in Persia, has filled the world with his name.

Self-seeking is so prevalent that the best men are often left to suffer; yet the selfish nature at last condemns itself, and sings the praises of the man who denies himself for the good of others. Self-denial is the attractive element in the life of Jesus; the one overshadowing fact was his suffering for the world.

It is cheering to find new examples of this spirit of the Master. The foreign mission fields appear to be ground whereon it is no dishonor in the eyes of the money-loving Church to suffer the loss of all things for Christ. Foreign missions will serve a good purpose if they should even do no more than keep this object lesson before the Church.

Samuel Lapsley, we have said, possessed in a marked degree the two elements of success named above. He was a member of the Church at ten years of age, a superintendent of Sabbath-school at twelve and seventeen, a senior in college at eighteen, and a missionary departing for Africa before the completion of his twenty-fourth year.

Mr. Lapsley's self-sacrifice is conspicuous—the most impressive fact of his life. There were several conditions in his life which show this to be true. There was much in the social environments of his Alabama home to make the separation from it

very painful, judged from the standpoint of the common sympathies and relations of home. One might reasonably think that the wide contrast between his home here and what he saw his home must be in Africa would have chilled his ardor and caused regret. Here an elegant mansion, there a hut. Here an affectionate and cultured family circle, there the untutored savage. Here a host of friends and congenial associates, there no other companion from his native land than the negro evangelist who accompanied him from America. This companionship is an evidence of the largeness of his Christian sympathies and his self-denial, in that it enabled him to suppress the American prejudice against the colored man. His life may be called a gift toward the redemption of the colored race—a costly gift, but none the less free and full. His letters show that he was in full sympathy with that race in their sufferings, and eager for their redemption. He says: "I told Ngoyo, the woman who gave me water, to say that my king, whom they know as Nsami [God],—like black people as well as us; and I could not properly be bad to them if I wanted to."

Of all the testimonials of esteem and affection for Mr. Lapsley which have been offered, no other one appears more sincere and impressive than the letter of the negro missionary, Mr. Sheppard, addressed to Mrs. Judge Lapsley after the death of her son.

The West African coast has been a fatal field for missionaries; it has proved equally fatal to foreigners engaged in trade and in the government service. This volume gives a long list of the mortality. Mr. Lapsley is one among many.

But the demands of commerce and conquest are promptly supplied. No sooner does one governor or employé fall than others hasten to fill their places. Shall Africa be abandoned to the Arab slaver, American rum, and idolatry? The possession taken is too broad and well fortified to justify for a moment the thought that there will be any retreat or breaking down of the forces. A missionary and his wife have gone to Luebo to carry on the work begun by Mr. Lapsley. We doubt not that the work and death of the subject of this sketch will incite many to take up and carry on the mission begun by him.

The book throws some light on the war which was carried on on the upper Congo, and which has been of late such a fruitful source of dissension between Protestants and Papists.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

A CONCORDANCE TO THE SEPTUAGINT AND THE OTHER GREEK VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT (including the Apocryphal Books). By the late EDWIN HATCH, M.A., D.D., and HENRY A. REDPATH, M.A., assisted by other scholars. Part I. *A-Bαρθ*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan, 1892. 4to, pp. viii., 232, 21s. (\$5).

It is not generally known, outside the circle of biblical scholars, to how great an extent the Septuagint has lately been an object of study. Until 1885 the public generally were interested in the revision of the St. James version of the Bible, and since that time interest has been absorbed in the study of that version and of its greater faithfulness to the original; but long anterior to this, and all the time that the revision was going on, the study of the Septuagint had been progressing. The life-work of Lagarde was largely of this character. Tischendorf did not little toward the settling of the text of the Septuagint, while Bickell, Swete, and Hatch have all done noble work in this direction.

The Septuagint claims the interest of all biblical scholars, first, because it is the earliest version of the Old Testament, and hence of great value in the matter of textual criticism. It also claims attention because of its linguistic relation to the New Testament and of its extensive use by the disciples and the writers of the New Testament in their citations. The difficulty hitherto in its use as bearing on the textual criticism of the Old Testament has been that its text is decidedly unsettled.

All scholars are well aware that the text of the Old Testament is in a far different condition from that of the New, and hence there is an added reason for increased attention to the Septuagint version because of the opportunity which it affords for correcting or verifying the Masoretic text. But while students have been engaged on the text of the LXX, they have had no assistance whatever in the way of a really satisfactory concordance.

Only three concordances to the Septuagint have been compiled: the first in the early part of the seventeenth century; the second, which was the best, and is still in use, that of Trommius, which was published in 1718; and a third, which does not enter into the calculations of scholars because of its inadequacy, was published by Bagsters in 1887. We are therefore still relying upon a concordance which was published nearly two hundred years ago. The late Dr. Hatch had gained for himself a deservedly wide reputation because of his Greek scholarship. His "Essays in Biblical Greek" established his leadership in this direction. When, therefore, it became known that a concordance to the Septuagint had been all but completed under his supervision, a deep-felt satisfaction was expressed, and all were confident that the work was in the very best hands. This is the work which is now under consideration. In order to estimate its value, we must consider the position in which it stands. We must remember that the opportunities of the editors were very great, and their responsibilities equally great. While a concordance was being compiled, no second body of scholars would dare begin the work because of its immensity. No publishers would undertake the publication of another concordance with this just

on the market, and so it behooved those who undertook to compile the work to make it complete, accurate, and upon a sound textual basis.

The unsettled condition of the text necessarily comes into consideration in forming an estimate. Since there is no text which is received as final, the concordance must be to a certain extent tentative. The editors have in great measure come up to expectations by using as their textual basis **B**, **A**, **B**, and the Sixtine edition corrected. They have also used Nestle's supplement to Tischendorf, and the "earlier volumes" of Swete's Cambridge Septuagint. This is good so far as it goes, but we consider it unfortunate that no notice was taken of Lagarde's edition of the Septuagint, and it is equally a mistake that the best text of the Apocrypha, namely, Fritzsche's, has been ignored. That the work of so eminent a scholar as Lagarde and of so careful a student as Fritzsche should be overlooked or slighted, is a blemish upon the work. We may remark, in passing, upon the doubtful expediency of calling the Sinaitic manuscript "**S**" instead of the usual "**B**." So much for the textual basis.

In the matter of arrangement, the new concordance is an immense advance upon Trommius. The arrangement in the latter follows the Hebrew equivalents, so that if a single Greek word translates a dozen Hebrew words, there are a dozen lists of passages in which that word occurs. In the new concordance, all passages in which any given word occurs are put in a single list, following the order of the books of the Bible. But in every case, the Hebrew word, of which the Greek word cited is the equivalent, is indicated by a very simple system of references. This is a great advantage.

In the matter of completeness, the new concordance presents an immense gain over Trommius. We find, for instance, fourteen columns given on the word *ἀνθείαν*, twenty-two columns on the word *ἀνηρ*, and eighteen columns on *ἀνθρώπος*. So, under *ἀναγγέλλω* Trommius cites 206 passages, while Hatch has 301. In most cases the preponderance of passages in the new concordance will be found to consist in a fuller citation of the Apocrypha. This, however, is not always the case. For instance, while Trommius has noted under the first letter of the alphabet about 1450 words, the new editors have found over 2000. Therefore, as to *apparatus criticus*, the new concordance is apparently about half as valuable again as the old standby. Really, the advantage is not quite so great, since many of the new words introduced are of no great importance and of very limited usage.

So far, then, as the words which are contained in the new concordance are concerned, the work is exceedingly well done. We deem it, therefore, in view of the opportunities and responsibilities of the editors, a great misfortune that any significant word should not have been collated; but we find from the preface that the personal pronouns and, upon an examination of the work, the word *αἵρεται* have been omitted entirely. We might submit to the omission of the personal pronouns, though we consider it a great mistake to have left them out, but the omission of such a word as *αἵρεται* we consider exceedingly unfortunate. Very numerous passages can be cited in which the translation of this word decides the sense of the passage. Genesis iii. 15 will immediately occur as an instance of this. We discover, also, indications that such words as *μεν*, *δι*, *; τι*, and the like, are to be omitted; while for *ταῦται* we are probably to content ourselves with the entry "*passim*!" The re-

sult of these omissions is that whereas we hoped to be able to lay *Trommarius* aside as a curio which in its day had done good work, all scholars must still keep him on their shelves alongside of the new concordance and as an adjunct to it. We cannot adequately express the acute disappointment we feel that the editors have not risen to their opportunities and compiled a concordance which should be what Bruder is to the New Testament, almost the *ne plus ultra*. The only way out of the difficulty will be for some scholar to make careful note of the omitted words, compile a supplement, and then find an enterprising publisher who will put it on the market. Some such course seems imperative.

The matter of accuracy is left for our consideration. So far as citation of passages is concerned, inasmuch as the division of the Septuagint into chapters and verses is not fully settled, the indications in the concordance are sufficiently clear. Every citation can be easily found by reference to any fair text of the LXX. But when we come to the press-work of the book, the first thing that strikes us is that the whole first page—a large quarto, we must remember—is given to "Addenda et Corrigenda." If the remaining portions of the work are given out with a like ratio of mistakes, the work of correction will be no slight factor in the work of the scholar who uses the volumes. More careful proof-reading is demanded for the rest of the work. We also have to call attention to the fact that there is no index of the signs which are used in the body of the work. Moreover, we find that the same sign, the asterisk, does service in two or three capacities—decidedly confusing. We sincerely hope that before the work is completed a table of the abbreviations will be furnished; in fact, it should be furnished with each section as published. We would suggest that, before any further printing is done, the editors make such a table for themselves and follow it rigidly in the printing of the rest of the work. While the Concordance is in fulness and in its collation of manuscripts far superior to the old *Trommarius*, the careful student will regret that the opportunity to make a complete collation of all words occurring in the Septuagint was not seized and improved.

BROOKLYN.

GEORGE W. GILMORE.

THE GENESIS OF GENESIS. A Study of the Documentary Sources of the First Book of Moses in Accordance with the Results of Critical Science Illustrating the Presence of Bibles within the Bible. By BENJAMIN WISNER BACON. With an Introduction by GEORGE F. MOORE, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Hartford: The Student Publishing Company, 1892. 8vo, pp. xxx., 352, \$2.50.

On the title-page the author quotes from Mr. Stanley as follows: "The books of the Old Testament in their present form, in many instances, are not, and do not profess to be, the original documents on which the history was based. There was (to use a happy expression employed of late) 'a Bible within a Bible.'" To discover any traces of the lost works in the actual text, or any allusions to them, even when their substance is entirely perished, is a task of immense interest. The book is divided into three parts, preceding which are a Preface by the author and an Introduction by Professor Moore. Part I. consists of three chapters: 1. Higher Criticism and the Science of Documentary Analysis; 2. The Science of Historical Criti-

cism; 3. The Documentary Theory of To-Day. Part II. gives the text of Genesis according to the Revised Version in varieties of type to exhibit the constituent sources and method of their compilation according to the general consensus of critical analysis, with notes explanatory of the process of redaction. Part III. contains the separate documents J E and P conjecturally restored, with revised translation according to emended text and conjectural readings of good authority. The book concludes with two appendices, the first giving "The Great Flood Interpolation" and connected passages, placed in juxtaposition, with a translation of their cuneiform parallels; the second, Hebrew notes.

Prior to the analysis of Genesis, which begins with page 97, a succinct analysis is given of the documents found in the Hexateuch. Dillmann is taken, for convenience, as the basis. Divergent analyses are not indicated, the author having been compelled to omit them for want of space. Moreover, he did not deem their insertion to be necessary, since "there is almost exact coincidence in the analysis of independent critics instead of the conflicting views usually ascribed to them." This analysis comprises the Priestly Law Book (P²); the Ephraimite Narrative (E); the Judean Narrative (J); the Priestly and Prophetic Codes—viz., the Law of Holiness (P¹), Lev. xii.-xxvi, and kindred passages; the code of the Priestly Law Book (Ex. xxv.-Num. xxvi.) and the Prophetic Code. Corruptions of text are indicated by an asterisk. Second, third, and fourth-hand non-editorial additions to the Priestly Law Book are indicated by P³, J³, E³, D³ represent non-editorial elements in the original prophetic documents designated respectively JE and D. Notes harmonizing JE and E, or inserted in the union of JE and D, as well as minor glosses and interpolations, antedating the union of J E D and P, are included under R^d, while R stands for insertions made in the union of J E D and P. A brief statement is given at the beginning of this chapter of the Graffian Theory, at present the prevailing one, also of the older theory, as now represented by Dillmann. Following this is found a brief list of works on Hexateuch analysis, from which the author's data are, in the main, derived. Unfortunately for those unacquainted with German, the most of these works are inaccessible.

The author is throughout scholarly, reverent, judicial. His work is done in the spirit of a true lover of the Bible, and in the firm confidence that a general acquaintance with the discoveries claimed to have been made by the higher critics in the Pentateuch can only conduce to the lasting benefit of His cause who said: "Thy word is truth." We read again: "To the reader who approaches these pages in the endeavor to find a deeper, clearer meaning in the ancient book than hitherto, he expresses the sincere and sanguine hope that new light upon this long-revered and cherished literature may prove it ever more and more clearly a 'word of God,' fragments providentially preserved of religious thought from that people whose history is the history of the development of the religious consciousness." On page 21 we find a strong, though unimpassioned, protest against the claims of certain self-constituted "defenders" of the Scriptures. "Strange as it may seem," writes the author, "to the student who approaches the Bible without prepossessions, to learn simply what it has to teach concerning itself, and gather, but not monopolize, its hid treasure, a certain class of writers demand that all attempts to learn by criti-

cal analysis what its component parts are shall be forbidden *a priori*. Unless the critical prospector can demonstrate beforehand that there is treasure beneath the surface, no a sod shall be turned by pick or spade; he is peremptorily warned off the premises. . . . 'defenders' of the Scriptures of this kind, the expounder of criticism is obliged to meet with a straightforward and positive denial of their assumption."

The reviewer of this book, if mindful of the purpose of the author, as expressed in his Preface, has finished his task when he has set forth briefly its aim, called attention to its contents and method, and given his own judgment as to the success with which the author has done his work. It is the expressed desire of the author that the "documentary theory" be presented to the reading public, that they may judge for themselves as to whether the results are to be beneficial or injurious to the Christian faith.

A word might be said touching the minuteness with which the analysis is attempted. In a work whose chief aim is to instruct the laity it were better if the analyses could have been confined to the main documents. But when analysis begins it must proceed in order to rid itself of the inconsistencies that would otherwise arise. It is this necessity which compels some critics to what seems hypercritical *finesse*, from which Kautsch and Socin, in their analysis, turn aside with the remark that they lay no claim to "that extreme penetration that bears every little blade of grass growing."

The justification of the minuteness of the analysis in certain places will be found in the evidence for the analysis of those parts which consist of longer and more consecutive sections, touching which there is unity on the part of critics, and concerning which, as it appears to the present writer, if there be not absolute literary certainty as to its correctness, there is, at least, an overwhelmingly strong preponderance of probability. That the stories of creation, of the flood, of the history of Isaac, the revenge taken upon Shechem, the fate of Joseph at the hands of his brethren, etc., have been preserved for us by different hands, and were finally amalgamated as the critics declare, seems not only probable but even beyond debate. The difficulties to be encountered on the traditional view are much more numerous and insurmountable than are those by which the documentary theory is beset, and the traditional view itself (in view of the prevailing habit of Oriental writers of preserving duplicate or manifold accounts of the same events, even when they were inscribed upon stone monuments, and, further, of constructing composite wholes out of various simple accounts, facts which have not yet been sufficiently emphasized in this connection) is so wholly opposed to the prevailing literary processes of Semitic and Oriental historians that it must inevitably be universally abandoned, whether the account of these books as at present rendered by the consensus of critics be wholly accepted or not. The acceptance of the dates ascribed to these documents is not involved in the acceptance of the documentary analysis.

In view of the interest lately aroused in America in the "higher criticism," which numbers among its exponents and advocates by far the largest proportion of the keenest and ripest scholars of the continent, England and Scotland, as well as a very large percentage of the most active and vigorous Old Testament biblical scholars in America, this book deserves, and is likely to secure, a wide

reading. No minister, no Bible student, no one, indeed, interested in the wonderful records of Genesis and the treatment of the Pentateuch from the historical-critical standpoint can afford to pass by this presentation of critical results.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

JAMES A. CRAIG.

THE CHALCEDONIAN DECREE; OR, HISTORICAL CHRISTIANITY, MISREPRESENTED BY MODERN THEOLOGY, CONFIRMED BY MODERN SCIENCE, AND UNTOUCHED BY MODERN CRITICISM (Charlotte Wood Slocum Lectures). By JOHN FULTON, D.D., LL.D. New York: Thomas Whitaker, 1892. 8vo, pp. ix., 213, \$1.50.

This book contains a course of lectures given at the University of Michigan, not directly under the auspices of the university, but under an endowment of a Mrs. Slocum, who was an intimate friend of the late Bishop Harris, and in whose memory and with a desire to carry out whose cherished plans she was moved to found the lectureship. The general subject with which the lectures are to deal is Christian Evidences, and Dr. Fulton having been the close friend of Bishop Harris for many years, it was the earnest wish of the founder that he should receive the first appointment under the endowment. It thus happens that there is a certain personal interest attaching to the book in addition to the literary and theological interest which it excites. The large and hospitable spirit of the lamented bishop seems to pervade the progress of the discussion, and the tender words in which the lecturer speaks of his friend's attitude to Christian truth betray an affinity of thought which fits him to carry that spirit out to its full realization in the largest and most generous conception of the Christian religion. The book, however, is far from being the reproduction of the ideas of another than its author. Any one who knows Dr. Fulton, and has had occasion to observe the strong, original movement of his mind, will not need to be told that he moves along a track of his own and offers us the product of genuine and profound thinking. His subject is the old one of Christian Evidences, but his treatment of it is altogether fresh and unusual. His contention is that one of the greatest needs of the time is that of fresh presentations of the evidences of the Christian religion. The scientific standpoint of the present day compels a change in the forms of statement and the means of demonstration of religious truth, and the current agnostic scepticism must be met with much different arguments than were employed against the old atheistic and deistic scepticism. As the agnosticism of our time moves on a much higher and larger plane than did the earlier scepticism, and offers a much richer and more rational conception of things, we must also rise to higher levels of thought in meeting it and contrast to it nobler and more universal conceptions of the truth of Christianity. We must look into our statements of Christian truth and see what there is in them that is eternally true, and what is merely the hoarded rubbish of erroneous thinking in the past. We must examine the line of our defences and see what part of them is really proof against the projectiles of scientific criticism, and what is simply the flimsy display of antiquated earthworks to keep up the courage of the rank and file, but which could not withstand for a moment the impact of rational argument. We must meet the enemy openly and honestly, and gain our victories over scepticism by exhibiting Christianity in its simplicity and real-

ity as truth which contradicts no other truth discovered or ascertained, but which gathers all other truth within its grasp, and presents to it the living touch of a spirit which makes it flame with divine meaning. This is what the writer of this book in a terse, direct, and earnest manner strives to do. His aim is to get at an ultimate analysis of Christianity which will give us the essential truth which it contains for the human soul, and at the same time free it from all the accumulations of human opinions and theories and doctrines by which it has been overloaded and encumbered. That ultimate analysis he finds in the Nicene Creed, which was first set forth by the Council of Chalcedon as a sufficient and unalterable formula of the Christian faith. But the reasons for his acceptance of this decree as the complete statement of the essential truth of Christianity are not found in any extreme veneration for the inspiration and authority of councils as such. For the writer, whatever authority councils may have is purely secondary and instrumental. They are not the source of Christian truth : they are simply the means of the formal expression of that which the Christian Church universally held as Christian truth. The Council of Nicaea was not assembled to reveal any new truth nor to proclaim any new doctrine, but simply to testify through its members what had been received in the Christian churches as Christian truth, and whether the doctrine of Arius was consistent with that truth. The creed which it put forth was, therefore, not authoritative because the Council declared it, but because it was the general judgment of the Christian churches throughout the world. It expressed what for three hundred years the converts to Christianity had received as the spiritual gift of Christ ; expressed it, of course, in terms somewhat different from those used by Christ and His apostles, but which carried sense which commended itself to Christians everywhere as in harmony with what had been taught from the beginning. As Dr. Fulton says, "The Christianity which had been separately received, which for centuries had been separately held, and which was then set forth with one consent by all the churches throughout the world, can have been none other than the Christianity which was everywhere delivered by Christ's apostles ; and the Christianity of the apostles was the Christianity of Christ." The conclusion is thus stated with great directness and positiveness, and for the author seems to admit of no question. We may say, however, in passing, that in our opinion the question is not so plainly and easily decided. The conclusion in this form is purely an assumption. The very point to be decided is how far in those three hundred years the Christianity of the churches had insensibly mingled other elements with the pure, essential truths of Christ, how far the purely spiritual and ethical principles of His teaching had, even by the apostles, been clouded by human opinions and presumptions. Three hundred years is a long time, and that three hundred years was a time of great intellectual and spiritual ferment, in which no one line of thought could avoid contact and influence from others, and nothing less than a miracle could account for a system of truth coming through that experience without some internal as well as external modification. When, therefore, any one declares that the Christian faith of the churches at the time of the Council is the exact teaching and religion of Christ Himself, the assertion may be true, but is not true on the face of it, and requires some distinct and adequate proof. However, this

clear-cut assertion and confident conclusion of Dr. Fulton enables him to do a great deal of cutting and pruning in Christian theology which is clearly to the advantage of the simplicity and reality of Christian truth. For the assumption that the Nicene Creed is a sufficient and authoritative statement of Christian doctrine enables him to say that the Nicene Creed sets the limits of Christian apologetics. What is not contained, explicitly or implicitly, in that formula, is not a part of the essential verity of the Christian religion. In our defense of Christianity we have simply to fortify this citadel of truth. Whatever outside of this may be attacked, or demolished, or carried away by criticism or scepticism leaves Christianity untouched and unhurt, and leaves Christian character as true and unspotted as if it were still maintained. Whoever can accept and assert the statements of that creed has a right to the name of Christian, whatever position he may hold as to other statements of religion. Thus the way is easy to a large conception of Christianity which includes many diversities of views and opinions on religious things, but maintains undisturbed its vital centre of truth. Before this conception of Christian truth, the difficulties of the alleged conflict between science and religion pass quickly away. The conflict is seen to be purely imaginary. For the truth of Christ is simply that God made heaven and earth—that is, nature as a whole. The creed does not have anything to say about the method by which God made the things which are seen. That is a matter for science to work upon, and whatever her conclusions as to the method may be, it will not at all affect the great initial truth of religion. When science proves that God did not make the world, then it may enter upon a conflict with religion on its own ground. But until then it is dealing with a matter of opinion, and not with a matter of faith, and thus finds no ground of conflict with religion. The whole question of evolution is simply one of the method of the making of things. It assumes an original undifferentiated chaos, but does not assume to account for it, while the Nicene Creed does account for it if it ever existed. There is no conflict here, nothing to show that an evolutionist may not be a devout Christian believer. That God made the world, and that the method of making was by means of an infinite progression of forms, from lowest to highest, are assertions quite compatible with one another, and equally within the scope of Christianity. Then, too, as regards the field of Christian theology itself, this view of Christian faith settles many troublesome questions, and enables us to exclude many things from the essential limits of saving truth which are frequently included within them. What the Church of Christ in her only authoritative creed does not define to be Christian truth cannot be made such by any individual theory of Christianity, however logical or however widely received. Neither Augustine nor Calvin has any authority to say what does or does not belong to the things which a Christian ought to believe beyond what the creed declares. They may teach many things which are true and useful to know, but whatever they teach outside the statements of the creed is no part of Christianity as such. What they teach is true so far as it harmonizes with the essential of the creed, and may be true so far as it does not contradict the creed, and is false so far as it states things which cannot in any way be fitted into the truth of the creed. Predestination, soteriology, spiritual operation, sacramental grace and eternal judgment are no part of Chris-

tianity. They have never been defined by Christian authority, they have never been bound upon Christian faith. They are legitimate subjects of thought, of study, and of earnest opinion, but no views of them have any place in the saving truth of Christ's religion. Whatever a man may think or hold of them has nothing to do with his Christian faith or character, whatever science or criticism has to say against them does not touch the truth of religion. That truth is contained in the plain declaration of the creed in the terms of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. That is all that the creed does declare—the doctrine of God as Christ revealed Him, the doctrine of God as the Father, whose spiritual nature is revealed in His Son Jesus Christ, and whose spiritual power works through the Holy Spirit for the redemption and salvation of things. He who can accept that truth is in the embrace of Christ, and he who can make that truth into life and character will become one with Christ, whatever else he may assert or deny. No review, however, can do justice to a book so full of profound and careful thought. It ranges over the whole field of theological thought, and probes far below the surface in its criticisms and expositions. It ought to be read by every man to whom truth is dearer than opinion, and who longs for some common ground on which critics and believers may meet together and understand the real points of difference and agreement. The clear, incisive, forcible style makes the book interesting reading, and we doubt if any one can lay it down unfinished. It opens up new conceptions of what power still lies in Christian evidences when carried out of the traditional rut, and animated with love of science as the friend and not the enemy of religion. If the succeeding courses of lectures on this foundation compare in any way with this course, they will become as much the pride and glory of American theology as are the Bampton lectures of English theology.

BROOKLYN.

H. RICHARD HARRIS.

THE WILL IN ITS THEOLOGICAL RELATIONS. By JOHN L. GIRARDEAU, Professor of Systematic Theology in Columbia Theological Seminary, Columbia, S. C.: W. J. Dufrie; New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. 497.

In the Preface to this interesting and instructive volume Dr. Girardeau relates a conversation with the eminent Thornwell, so widely known as both a theological and an ecclesiastical leader in the Southern Presbyterian Church. In that conversation the acute theologian admits what seems an almost insuperable objection to the doctrine of *Determinism*—an objection based on the consequence that sin, according to that doctrine, becomes in substance a necessity for whose existence God rather than man appears to be responsible. At the same time, he claims that a more formidable difficulty appears in the scheme, an hypothesis of *Liberty*—the difficulty of an Absolute Commencement implied in every free act of the will. It is to meet this difficulty, and to show that the will had in Adam, and still has within certain limits in the fallen descendants of Adam, this power of origination that this treatise was written. The fundamental proposition of the author is that "as God by creation imparted to the intellect the power to think; to the feeling the power to perceive beauty and deformity, pleasure and pain; to the conscience the power to pass moral judgments, so He imparted to the will the power efficiently to cause acts, and hold men responsible to Him for the exercise of this

power, bounding, ordering, and controlling it for the ends of His government."

The *First* (and main) *Part* of the volume is devoted to a consideration of the will of man in the estate of innocence, and again in the fallen and unregenerate condition as these are brought to view in the Scriptures. The discussion commences with an examination of the various theories of the relation of God to sin, and a forceful refutation of the determinist explanation in its varied forms. It is shown that any such explanation must fall to the ground in the case of Adam, and by consequence must be inadequate in the case of his posterity, however far sinfulness may have become a habit and a law in the corrupted moral nature. A specially interesting and important chapter is that which maintains that determinism is not in harmony with the teachings of Calvin, or those of the most prominent Calvinistic symbols, the Confession of Westminster included. Against the supralapsarian hypothesis, with its dangerous corollaries, a decisive argument is made in the two chapters that follow. The nature and scope of the Divine foreknowledge in its relation to the free acts of men are then considered; and the conclusion is reached that man had in his condition of innocence a true power of self-determination, and that this power has been lost through sin *so far as spiritual things are concerned*, but remains in the merely natural sphere as an inalienable endowment of the soul, inspired as to its range, but surviving and indestructible as to its essence.

Part Second considers the will in its regenerate and then in its glorified condition. The discussion here is less extensive, for the obvious reason that nearly all the serious points in issue circle around the dark problem of human sinfulness, and of the responsibility of the sinner previously considered. Yet the author has so much to say under this head, which is both interesting and valuable, that we would have been glad to see the theme more fully expanded under his skilful touch. More needs to be said in regard to the will of the believer, regenerated and still in part unsanctified, and still more in regard to the will of the glorified saint in its relations to that Divine Will which is at once the supreme law and the vitalizing force in heaven.

Its clear and vigorous style, its thoroughness in discussion, the conspicuous fairness of the author in his statement and treatment of opposing views, the scriptural tone and reverential spirit manifest throughout, are qualities which will commend this treatise alike to those who accept and those who reject its main positions. It is encouraging that a work so thorough and so able, devoted to the examination of a problem as old as theology, yet ever fundamental and vital in the estimate of all earnest students, should have made its appearance in our times when the currents of popular thought set in such opposite directions. It is to be hoped that the book will be widely read, and that its teachings may be welcomed as a timely corrective to certain necessitarian tendencies just now apparent within our theological domain.

E. D. MORRIS.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES AND MODERN THOUGHT. The Boyle Lectures for 1891. By T. G. BONNEY, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., etc., Honorary Canon of Manchester, etc. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892. 8vo, pp. xx., 175. \$1.50.

There is a certain fitness in the fact that this

latest contribution to the attempt to show the reasonableness of Christian doctrine should be made in lectures delivered on the Boyle foundation, for Robert Boyle was not only a Christian layman who had a reason for the hope that was in him, but he was also the foremost physicist of his time, and one whose services in the cause of science are still recognized. His own experience had taught him that while religion is more than theology—that it is life—yet for that very reason it must also be a science, for man, whether in material or physical things, is not content till crude instinct and practical familiarity have risen into science; and to keep theology in touch with material knowledge, while opposing false or mistaken thought, he instituted these lectures. Canon Bonney in his volume undertakes this task as regards Christian doctrine endeavoring to show its close relation to modern thought. The trend of his ideas is indicated in his preface, in which, speaking of our increased knowledge of the natural world, and its having in one sense brought men nearer to God, he adds that this advance makes our conception of God less definite, because less capable of expression. The question he places before himself to answer is whether, if we accept the revelation of God in the person of Christ, we can go further and accept also the theological dogmas on which the various branches of the Catholic Church are generally agreed, not as a full expression of Divine mysteries, but as the best approximation to this expression? Eight lectures, dealing severally with the doctrines of the Logos, the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, the Sacraments, and the Church, are devoted to maintaining the validity of the idea.

The first thought that naturally suggests itself is the magnitude of the task, and the impossibility of its being fully dealt with in the small space of 175 pages, though it is fair to say that the author recognizes this. The canvas is too small for the due presentation of the subjects, and any defect in their treatment is generally traceable to lack of proper elaboration or explanation. The characteristic of the method employed is the utter absence of reference to dogmatic theology. The doctrines taken up are dealt with from a scientific rather than a theological standpoint, and this gives the book a very considerable value for its purpose. It may be read with profit by any one who is at all familiar with the main results of recent scientific research or philosophic thought, and while a complete answer to all inquiries will not be found, there is a suggestiveness in thought and method that cannot fail to be useful.

Illustrations of this are seen more especially in the first three lectures; the one on the Holy Spirit bringing very forcibly into view the scientific necessity for the Christian doctrine regarding the Spirit as the Lord and Giver of life. To enforce this, the author quotes largely from Tait's "Recent Advances in Physical Science," showing that the physical law of the dissipation of energy means ultimate death to the universe unless power is brought in from without, or, as he phrases it, "God must be our Deliverer, or the end is nothingness," and that the work of the Spirit described in Scripture as quickening, vivifying or counteracting the natural tendency to dissipation affords just this relief. In dealing with the Trinity, there is no attempt made to show the philosophic necessity of the doctrine; the simpler, but at the same time effective, plan is adopted of clearing the original expressions from ambiguity and showing

that taking *ousia*, or substance, to represent the universal or common element in a group, and *hypostasis*, or person, to mean that which in fact constitutes individual existence, the conception is scientifically as well as philosophically thinkable, the idea being enforced by numerous pertinent analogies drawn from both the organic and the inorganic kingdoms. In the treatment of the Atonement, any impregnable theory of which the author frankly confesses his inability to form, there are some expressions used to which exception might justly be taken—*i.e.*, "God's wrath with man is not emotional." If "emotional" is intended, as it seems, to connote the expression of emotion, it would conflict with all our conceptions of God. Considering we believe that man is made in God's image, to exclude as alien to that image the emotions which are the sources of man's greatest and noblest actions, even though they have also been the cause of his greatest sins, because "*Corruptio optimi possima est,*" would be to make Christ's teaching unintelligible. If "Father" means anything, it means an eternal relationship of which love can be the only certain predicate—a love that constrains the Divine Shepherd to leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness while He seeks the one stray sheep until He find it—a love that hates sin not more because it offends its own purity, than because it separates the Son from the Father's heart. Love, which is certainly "emotional," is the ultimate fact of the Divine Being. A similar hardness of view, to so express it, is found in the statement: "It is not, then, so much anger which has to be appeased as the natural consequences of actions which have to be averted." It is just this view which has led to the "satisfactionary" and "substitutionary" theories of the Atonement. Neglecting the primary fact that the reconciliation sought is one of persons, it overlooks also the fact that sin has a twofold effect—one as being the seed of consequences, the other as causing a separation from God. Atonement is the restoration of right relations first; and one may easily conceive a wayward son received back to his father's love who yet has to endure the consequences of his own former folly. Lack of space forbids any detailed consideration of the remaining lectures. Attention may, however, be called to the statement in the chapter on the Sacraments (p. 136): "I could not, however, affirm that the word 'regeneration' is to be understood in the same sense in the case of an adult and in that of an infant." Why not? If it were understood that birth is simply change of environment, whether in the natural or spiritual world; that birth of water and the Spirit indicates the entrance of the soul into that environment—*i.e.*, the Church, which will best conduce to its continued growth, many misconceptions would be removed. To say that this is merely a formal change, that admission to the Church can mean nothing spiritually, is to forget that the Church in the New Testament is not looked upon as a voluntary human organization, but as the body of Christ, the living organism drawing life and energy from its Divine Head. The closing lecture on the "Church" contains a good definition of the power conferred by Christ, as that of making *by-laws*, together with some pertinent warnings, enforced by historical examples, against the repetition of the mistake of the past in interpreting the commission given to her in any despotic sense. "Those," says he, "who walk with their eyes shut must not expect when they stumble the pity which is extended to the blind."

Taking the book as a whole, we should say, that

while not exhaustive, it is distinctively suggestive, and indicates some lines of thought that, thoroughly worked out, would produce large results. The style of the book is clear, and though its purpose necessitates the use of many scientific terms, they are never needlessly employed.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. S. D. McCONNELL.

THE EVOLUTION OF LOVE. By EMORY MILLER, D.D., LL.D. Chicago : A. C. McClurg & Co., 1892.

This is an attempt to construct *a priori* from an abstract ground a philosophy of the universe. This is no other than the philosophy of the Christian Scriptures, and what is implicit in many theological treatises—viz., that "God is love," and in love rightly understood is the key to understand and explain all concrete existence. In this book this is worked out logically, and in view of the contrary possibilities of thought showing themselves in our day, the treatment is very able, and the attempt, in most respects, successful, though here and there a doubt or a difficult question is suggested which the author does not probe to the bottom. The style is clear when once the author's technique has been mastered, although there is much repetition—perhaps not too much, considering the elusive nature of the thought. It is a book which will do good service in our day, and one of a kind much needed to meet the specious arguments of the "Cosmic Philosophy." Of this last the criticism is, that the agnostic pleads that he cannot *conceive* what he acknowledges that he must *perceive*. Our present knowledge is to be trusted, or else all knowledge is worthless ; all ideals disappear, and we are relegated to an ethic of selfishness merely ; and the higher monitions of consciousness may be disregarded as untrustworthy.

The author asserts, rightly, that an "atheist" is impossible. The consciousness of dependent being implies independent being, and the principle of causality appears, upon which man acts in spite of all disavowals.

The highest conception of a first principle, "love," is taken as the starting-point, and its implications worked out. It may be questioned whether the author's view of the Divine Tri-unity is identical with the Catholic idea ; for this theological doctrine is not fully elucidated, though suggestions of great value toward it are given. With him the Logos is the "conditioned consciousness" of the Divine Being, and, as such, personal ; which would seem to indicate that the conditioning activity is prior in thought. The "spirit" is made to be "the tendency of the Divine intention" rather than activity rendered possible only by the antecedents of thought ; so that there is hardly sufficient warrant to assert distinct personality. The self-sufficiency of the Godhead, satisfying all the requirements of thought and emotion, aloof from and prior in thought to all creative activity, is hardly made out satisfactorily. The primal love is for an ideal, and is not a relation between concretes ; and hence may be thought to lack the highest element in the definition of love—feeling, emotion, delight in reciprocation.

The author is very successful in showing that ours is the best possible world, and that the clamorous demand for a more beneficent one, if gratified, would only give us one far inferior, one of power and not of love. He seems to intimate that the Creator may have tried this experiment before the human creation ; and that this is the idea of Angelic

existence. Thus we have, also, a logical ground for the existence of demons. From which it would appear that human existence, with all its imperfections, is based upon a higher idea than angelic existence, in which the requirements of love do not appear.

The author's eschatology is full of valuable thought, and is a protest against the crass notions rife too long. But we think that his failure to deal successfully with all its problems is due to the fact that he has not taken the doctrine of the intermediate existence between death and the resurrection sufficiently into his thought. We can only instance here one conclusion among the many which we are glad to accept, to which our thought strongly objects—viz., that infants and idiots who have not reached explicit personality have not risen beyond mere race existence, and, therefore, have no immortality. All which ignores that the human germ, even before explicit personality appears, has it potentially—that it has spiritual relations ruling its development *ab initio*, and hence it cannot fall below these into the domain of mere natural forces. There is no more difficulty in supposing such, under proper environment, blossoming into altruistic existence, than to suppose this process to take place in those cases where explicit personality *has* appeared, yet has not undergone a testing trial, which the author allows as possible. It would be a cruel shock to maternal love to think that newborn babes have no true human existence and destiny.

But these are minor blemishes, and need be regarded as only speculations. The positive value of the thought of the book is very great ; and we have more of acquiescence than of questioning.

J. STEINFORT KEDNEY.

SEABURY DIVINITY SCHOOL.

DARWIN AND AFTER DARWIN : an Exposition of the Darwinian Theory and a Discussion of Post-Darwinian Questions. I. The Darwinian Theory. By GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, A.M., LL.D., F.R.S. Chicago : The Open Court Publishing Co., 1892. \$vo, pp. xiv., 460, \$2.

The work named above, when complete, is to consist of two volumes, the first of which only is here given to the public. Of this the author writes : "The present volume, which bears the sub-title of 'The Darwinian Theory,' is intended to be a systematic exposition of what may be termed the Darwinism of Darwin, and as on this account it is likely to prove of more service to the general reader than to the professed naturalist, I have been everywhere careful to avoid assuming even the most elementary knowledge on the part of those to whom the exposition is addressed" (Preface, p. 6).

The author holds the doctrine of evolution, as presented by Darwin in his "Origin of Species" and "Descent of Man," with very little variation. (1) He gives to evolution the same range that Darwin himself gave it, beginning with certain primordial organic forms, and reaching up to and including man. As he states the case, "The theory of descent starts from life as a datum already granted ; how life itself came to be, the theory of descent, as such, is not concerned to show" (p. 15). And in his chapter on morphology, he says : "The number of obsolescent structures which we all present in our own persons is so remarkable that their combined testimony to our descent from a quadrumanous ancestry appears to me in itself con-

clusive" (p. 73). (2) He holds to Darwin's idea that "natural selection" has been the main agent in the evolution of species. "In my discussion of this matter," he writes, "I hope to give abundant proof of the soundness of Darwin's judgment as conveyed in the words, 'I am convinced that natural selection has been the main, but not the exclusive, means of modification'" (p. 378). And again: "If we may estimate the importance of an idea by the change of thought which it effects, this idea of natural selection is unquestionably the most important that has ever been conceived by the mind of man" (p. 256). (3) Like Darwin's, the evolution for which our author contends is a godless evolution, the result of strictly natural causes. On this point Darwin says, writing to Sir C. Lyle: "I would give absolutely nothing for the theory of natural selection if it required miraculous additions at any one stage of descent. I think that embryology, homology, classification, etc., show us that all vertebrates are descended from one parent; how that parent appeared we know not." Again: "I have reflected a good deal on what you say on the necessity of continued intervention of creative power. I cannot see this necessity; and its admission, I think, would make the theory of natural selection valueless. Grant a simple archetypal creature, like the mudfish or lepidomysiren, with the five senses and some vestige of mind, and I believe natural selection will account for the production of every vertebrate animal" ("Life and Letters of C. Darwin"). Speaking of the great change in scientific thought which the author believes Darwinism to have wrought, he says: "It is a fundamental, a cosmical, a world-transforming change. Nevertheless, in my opinion, it is a change of a non-theistic as distinguished from an atheistic kind. It has rendered impossible the appearance in literature of any future Paley, Bell, or Chalmers; but it has done nothing in the way of negating that belief in a Supreme Being which it was the object of these authors to substantiate. If it has demonstrated the futility of their proof, it has furnished nothing in the way of disproof" (p. 412).

On all three of the points mentioned above, especially on the last, our author differs from many of the ablest scientists of the day; and he has truthfully entitled his work a treatise on "the Darwinian theory." While we cannot agree with him in some of his conclusions—e.g., the high estimate which he puts upon "natural selection" as the efficient agent in the origination of species, we can heartily commend his work as one of the best, if not the very best, exposition of the Darwinian theory which has been given to the public. Natural selection, as our author defines it—see his chapter on the subject—is simply "the survival of the fittest" in "the struggle for existence," of which our world is the theatre, and can give no account of the origin of anything. A struggle necessarily implies the existence of the parties to that struggle, and a survival of the fittest necessarily implies the existence of the fittest when the struggle began. Tracing the "origin of species" to natural selection as its efficient cause is evidence of a confusion of thought on the part of the philosophic naturalist who urges it, as has been said more than once by those who controverted the Darwinian theory.

But the space allowable for such a notice, rather than review, as this forbids my following up this subject; and I conclude with expressing my belief, simply as an offset to that of the author, that the teleological writings of Paley and Chalmers and Bell will be considered profitable reading when

"The Origin of Species" lies dust-covered in "the lumber-room of discarded theories."

NORFOLK, VA. GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG.

BRIEF REVIEWS AND NOTES, BY THE EDITOR.

An Introduction to the Study of the Acts of the Apostles. By J. M. Styler, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Crozer Theological Seminary. (New York and Chicago : F. H. Revell Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. vi., 287, \$1.25.) This volume has several points in its favor. It is comparatively small; it is clearly and simply written; it contains considerable suggestive matter. It is, however, not an "Introduction" in the technical sense, neither is it a commentary. The author states his purpose in writing to be to find the end and aim in the mind of Luke when he penned the book of Acts, and having found these, to explain it in the light thus shed upon the history. "Only such [questions of criticism] as materially affect the course of thought are treated at length." To Sabbath-school teachers the book will be of special benefit, though the preacher will also find some suggestions of value.

The Bible Doctrine of Prayer. By Charles E. Simmons. (New York and Chicago : F. H. Revell Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 122, 75 cents.) If it were not for the lack of the historical element, this would be a sample of biblical theology constructed on the basis of the Revised Version. As it is, we have a grouping of many passages of Scripture bearing upon the topics in hand, with remarks which serve to illustrate and connect them. The author has attempted to overcome his lack of acquaintance with the original languages by the use of the best commentaries. It may be doubted whether he has always been successful in avoiding the giving of false impressions in some matters, but his purpose and aim are excellent, and there are many good things in his work.

Volume IV. Report and Papers of the Fourth Annual Meeting, held in the city of Washington, December 29th-30th, 1891. Edited by Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, M.A., Secretary. (New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892, 8vo, pp. lviii., 235.) This volume contains several papers of considerable interest. In connection with the year, "The Religious Motives of Columbus" and "The Bills Distributing America" are timely. "The Heads of Agreement" and the Union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians based on them in London, 1691, by Professor Walker, of Hartford Seminary; "Christian Unity, or the Kingdom of God," by Thomas Davidson; "The Confessional History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States," by Rev. John Nicum, of Rochester; "Christian Thought in Architecture," by Mr. Barr Ferree, of New York; "The Friendship of Calvin and Melanchthon," by Dr. Schaff; and "Recent Researches concerning Medieval Sects," by Professor Newman, of Toronto, make up the body of the volume. Besides other matter which is of special importance to the members of the Society, there is a list of "Works of Interest to the Student of Church History which have Appeared in 1891," compiled by the Secretary from the "Monthly Bibliography," prepared for the MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE by the Rev. George W. Gilmore.

Church and State in Early Maryland. By George Petrie, Ph.D., Professor of History, Alabama Polytechnic Institute. (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins

Press, 1892. 8vo, pp. 50, 50 cents.) This is simply an account of religious toleration in Maryland down to 1692, without reference to contemporaneous political history. The provisions of the charter relating to religion are given, and the development of religious freedom is traced in the history of the colony along the lines laid down in the earliest acts of legislation, until the establishment of the Church of England in 1692. After perusing the book one feels that one has had a slight glimpse of a history which might be expanded into a story of no small interest. When the larger book is written, the author would do well to include all the side-lights to be derived from political and civil history, not forgetting the influence exerted on this side of the sea by contemporaneous events in England.

A Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat of Treves. With an Account of its History and Authenticity. By Richard F. Clarke, S.J. (London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. viii., 141, \$1.25.) During the exposition of the Holy Coat a year ago, the author had special privileges granted him of viewing the relic and studying it. He also made a study of the literature of the subject, and has produced this volume as a result of his labors. He writes pleasantly, and has made an interesting book, presenting, it may be presumed, as good a case as possible in favor of the authenticity of the coat. His descriptions are full and graphic, and to those predisposed to accept its genuineness the account may be sufficient, though enough of doubt and large enough gaps in the proof have been admitted to justify the sceptical in their position. As a convenient addition to the literature of the subject the book is to be welcomed.

The Indueeling Christ, and Other Sermons. By Henry Alton, D.D., Minister of Union Chapel, Islington. (New York : Thomas Whittaker, 1892, 8vo, pp. viii., 343, \$1.75.) This volume was to have been in some sort a memorial of Dr. Alton's jubilee. He had completed the volume only shortly before his sudden death. It therefore possesses a not inconsiderable interest aside from its intrinsic worth. The author has been widely known for many years, having been in charge of Union Chapel, or its successor, since 1844. Twice he held the chairmanship of the Congregational Union, and for many years he was editor of the *British Quarterly Review*. To many he was best known from his connection with hymnological publications, having edited the "Congregational Psalmist." In 1871 he was recognized by Yale University in the bestowal of the honorary degree of D.D., which was confirmed in 1885 by St. Andrews.

Christianity Between Sundays. By George Hodges, Rector of Calvary Church, Pittsburgh. (New York : Thomas Whittaker, 1892, 12mo, pp. 267, \$1.) This is a volume of sermons in which the author has endeavored to bring some of the principles of Christianity to bear on some of the problems of life. He puts his finger upon some sore spots in the body social, religious, and politic, and well says that the argument which is to have most effect in changing the relation of the world toward Christianity must be seen in the lives of the followers of the Master. The style is animated, clear, and forcible. The sermons are practical and calculated to be useful. A few rhetorical infelicities may be found, such as are incidental to the author's style of discourse, but they do not seriously mar the book as a whole.

Sermons on Some Words of Christ. By H. P. Liddon, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Canon and

Chancellor of St. Paul's. (London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1892, pp. xli., 356, \$2.) It is surely unnecessary to do more than call attention to this new volume of sermons by Canon Liddon. They are just what one has a right to expect, admirably suited not only to the hearers to whom they were addressed, but exceedingly profitable to readers on this side of the ocean as well. The twenty-three sermons which have been here gathered into a volume were preached upon "ordinary" occasions and evidence the grounds upon which the author's reputation rests. As they are, they make delightful reading.

Echoes from a Sanctuary. By Rev. Henry White, A.M., late Chaplain to the House of Commons. Edited and arranged by Sarah Doudney. With an Introduction by Boyd Carpenter, D.D., D.C.L. (New York : A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. viii., 192, \$1.50.) This volume is intended as a memorial of a man highly esteemed by those who had the privilege of his acquaintance. It is excellent in its contents, a pleasure in its outward form and execution, and is prefaced by what is evidently a good likeness of the author.

Medical Missions : Their Place and Power. By John Lowe, F.R.C.S.E. With Introduction by Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D. Third Edition. (New York and Chicago : F. H. Revell Co., no date, 8vo, pp. xi., 292, \$1.50.) This work is already well known and needs no more than mention and description. The author is the Secretary of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, and Superintendent of its training institution, and therefore most competent to his task. It is a matter of congratulation that it has been issued by an American firm, and made easily accessible to American readers. This "third" edition is identical with the second British edition in every respect except the order of the first eleven pages, and is therefore simply a "title-page edition." It is a valuable book and should be widely read.

Union of Episcopal Methodists. By R. S. Foster. (New York : Hunt & Eaton ; Cincinnati : Cranston & Stowe, 1892, 8vo, pp. 91, 75 cents.) Already there is a considerable literature on the proposed reunion of the branches of the Methodist Church, and reasons have been advanced on both sides of the question. We have already noted Bishop Merrill's book and questioned the wisdom of his proposal for the opening anew of the causes of division. Bishop Foster's book is more in accordance with what, to an outsider, seems solid common sense, let alone Christian propriety. The question that is determining in the matter is "What is Duty?" In this we agree with the bishop, and we commend to all concerned a careful perusal of his little book, not only for its spirit, but also for its practical suggestions. It is a bright contribution to the discussion.

A Treatise on Sunday Laws. The Sabbath, the Lord's Day, its History and Observance, Civil and Criminal. By George E. Harris, of the Washington, D. C., Bar. (Rochester : Lawyer's Co-operative Publishing Co., 1892, 8vo, pp. xxiii., 338, law sheep, \$3.) A very useful work covering the subject discussed, both in principle and example, under the headings of Sabbath—History and Observance ; Judicial Proceedings ; Work—Labor—Business ; Contracts made on Sunday ; Travel on Sunday ; Hiring Horses on Sunday ; Promissory Notes and Bills of Exchange ; Crimes and Misde-manners. The book has exhaustive tables of contents and cases, and a careful index. It must prove a help to lawyers and ministers, having been

made by the author for use in connection with his own law practice. It is fortified by references to nearly a thousand cases.

BRIEF MENTION.

The Symmetry of Life. An Address to Young Men. By the Rt. Rev. Phillips' Brooks, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts. Reprinted from "Second Series" of Sermons. (New York : Dutton, 1892, pp. 32, 25 cents.)

Freedom of Thought and Speech. A Lecture before the Society for Ethical Culture of Chicago, December 6th, 1891. By William Mackintire Salter. Unity Library, No. 13. (Chicago : Kerr & Co., 1892, pp. 29, 10 cents.)

The Evolution of Science. Greater works than Jesus did. By Rev. W. Burgess. (Chicago : Congregational Book Store, 1892, 12mo, pp. 23, 10 cents.) A lecture on John xiv. 12.

The Lily of Womanhood. A sermon to young women. By Rev. Robert A. Holland, S.T.D. (New York : Whittaker, 1892, 12mo, pp. 23, 10 cents.) A delightful sermon that should be read widely.

A Pocket Cyclopaedia. Brief explanations of religious terms as understood by Universalists. By J. W. Hanson, D.D. (Boston : Universalist Publishing House, 1892, 16mo, pp. 89.) Brief and clear statements upon about 230 words or phrases, upon many of which differences of opinion exist. Fortified by references to a considerable literature.

Church Entertainments. Twenty objections. By Rev. B. Carradine, D.D. (Syracuse : A. W. Hall, 1892, 12mo, pp. 96, 30 cents.) Different people will give different weight to this collection of reasons ; but they are weighty enough and wide enough to cover any and every case. The book should receive careful perusal and attention.

SYNOPSIS OF LEADING ARTICLES FROM "PERIODICALS."

THE *New World*, with its quarterly advent in September, completes a third number. The reader who for the first time takes up the ponderous and comely volume may query whether the name, *New World*, is borrowed from the common designation of the American continents, or intended to be significant of a new orb, whence the happy inmates survey the "Old World" of "religion, ethics, and theology." Our love of the new, which makes us delight in the round of the seasons, summer and winter, and bedtime and harvest, impels us to interpret the name in the latter sense, and we confess to more than ordinary eagerness to look within this *New World*. The volume opens with a lengthy and elaborate discussion of the "Essence of Christianity," by Professor Otto Pfleiderer, of the University of Berlin. A note of the editor informs us that Professor Pfleiderer "is now the foremost liberal theologian on the Continent of Europe," but in this connection the thought is suggested that just now there is an unhappy feeling with reference to intimate relations to the continent, since many ships have recently come to us laden to the water's edge with "new theology, Hamburg beef, and cholera." Yet such is our eagerness to stalk some new game from this *New World*, that we confess to a willingness to take the lash of our orthodox mothers and illiberal fathers, and the danger of the imported infection, if we can find something that is really new. We come, there-

fore, with peculiar zest to the reading of the contribution of Professor Pfleiderer, but while we read we confess to a feeling that we are taken back to old and familiar scenes, and are not taken out of the old rut of religion, ethics, and theology, as travelled by the representatives of the liberal school.

Some persons have thought the essence of Christianity to be *love* ; others think it to be sacrifice ; while others claim that there is no distinction to be made between the essential idea of the Old and the New Testament faith. Professor Pfleiderer, true to the antecedents and instincts of his school, gives to the Christian religion an old interpretation clothed in new words. He says : "We may, therefore, consider the consciousness of Divine Sonship—this salient new feature in the personality of Jesus—at the same time the characteristic essence of the Christian religion, its distinguishing work from all that is pre-Christian and extra-Christian, and the nucleus of all specifically Christian utterances concerning God, man, and the world."

A definition of Divine Sonship, of which Christ was conscious, becomes necessary to the apprehension of the author's thought, for all Christians believe that Jesus had the consciousness of a Divine Sonship. He says, therefore, "that Jesus called God *His Father* in no other sense than the one in which He taught us to pray, 'Our Father in heaven,' and in which He said of the merciful and the peacemakers that they shall be called the children of the Father, who makes His sun to shine on the evil and on the good." This idea of sonship, it is claimed, runs through all the apostolic writings as well as through the first three Gospels. We remember hearing Horace Mann and others advocate this idea of the Sonship of Christ as long as thirty-five years ago, and he who reads will find the notion anathematized centuries ago by the bishops and councils of Oriental churches, a fact which, while it does not invalidate the assumption, shows that it is rather stale, certainly not new.

In immediate connection with his statement of the essence of Christianity, Professor Pfleiderer says : "Before we analyze the threefold objective relation which is comprised in this consciousness, let us first consider what subjective emotions correspond to it." But the definition of the term sonship is the key-note of the discussion, which proceeds upon the assumption made, and depends for its consistency upon it. That idea of Sonship of Christ being rejected the argument falls, although much of the after discussion might be accepted as revealing some phases of the believer's sonship.

The *Andover Review* opens with a discussion by Professor C. R. Brown of the question, "Do the Literary Postulates of Hexateuch Criticism have any Parallels in the Other Books of the Old Testament?" Professor Brown starts the discussion with the statement that "it has long been recognized that in no passage of the Old Testament is the composition of the Pentateuch ascribed to Moses or even to the time of Moses." He says, further, that "respectable names may be cited for the opinion that the New Testament does not decide the matter or preclude an investigation of it by the usual historical methods." "Since the Pentateuch itself is silent also on the subject, we are left to the examination of its contents and structure to determine our answer. Many scholarly and devout critics claim that the phenomena presented in the first six books of the Old Testament, when compared with other known facts, are decisive of the following conclusions :"

1. That the Hexateuch, in its present form, is a compilation of four great documents, each of these having been made from pre-existing material in written form.

2. That these documents may be distinguished, at least in part, by individual preferences in the use of words, phrases, and modes of representation.

3. That the author of each document presented the history and institutions of the past in a form colored by the practices of his own time, or moulded by the traditions of different ages.

4. That these documents circulated for a while as separate works.

5. That the compiler selected such part of each source as suited his purpose, endeavoring in general to make a continuous chronological story, and interjecting remarks of his own to cover the transitions.

6. That Moses cannot have been the compiler of the Pentateuch, nor even the author of either of the four great documents in their present form, but that the earliest of these sources was composed long after the death of the great lawgiver.

The question to be decided is not as to the truth of these conclusions, but as to whether conclusions similar to these can be established in regard to other Hebrew writings. Are phenomena necessary to the maintenance of these hypotheses present elsewhere in the biblical books? Are there compilations in the Old Testament outside the Hexateuch?" Professor Brown claims that the nine books immediately following the Hexateuch reveal such phenomena, and proceeds to state these, giving a lengthy array of references. He then states the probable methods which were followed by the Hebrew compilers and some of the phenomena resulting from these methods, taking the Book of Chronicles as a basis.

Professor Brown contends that the compiler's method is everywhere the same, and he exhibits some curious results:

1. The chronicler's preference for large numbers. According to the author of Samuel, David paid about \$30, reckoned in our money, for the threshing floor of Araunah, but the chronicler charges him \$630,000 for it.

2. The religious awakening under Asa is described under the same method, using his own terms or borrowing them from a "second source."

3. The use of the Divine names, in which a very decided preference for Jehovah appears. A divergence from the preference is noted, but the theory of accounting for it is advanced with caution, since we cannot be sure that the names remained in our present Old Testament text as the chronicler wrote them. Yet these conclusions seem to be warranted:

1. That the chronicler used other sources than that of Samuel and Kings in writing the history of the monarchy.

2. That these sources revealed a preference for the name Jehovah.

3. That, for some reason, the chronicler felt compelled to transcribe this source *verbatim*, and hence did not venture to make alterations in the Divine names.

An important conclusion is drawn from this fact. The writer says: "When, therefore, Wellhausen and others make the claim that in the departure from the earlier source our author gives us pure invention of his own, it must be answered that this theory is inconsistent with the chronicler's departure from his usual habit, when writing independently,

of using בָּנָה as the name of God. This point is made not so much to show how sometimes the use of critical methods may be made to react upon the extreme critics themselves, but to show how, should the conclusion of the present writer be just, the severest critical methods may be utilized in the interest of truth.

The discussion which relates wholly to the books following the Hexateuch, so far as analysis and facts are concerned, is minute, thorough, able, and valuable. The purpose is to trace the parallels between the processes or postulates of criticism of the Hexateuch and the other books named. It is not the professor's object to state, neither has he stated, any of the objections to the conclusions, although he says that "the conclusions have been supposed by some writers to be absurd and self-contradictory," but whether so or not, the discussion throws much light upon the books considered, although there is ground to question the correctness of some of the deductions of the paper.

The final conclusion of Professor Brown is that the position of the critics, that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch, nor either of its component documents in their present form, should be weighed according to the methods of literary criticism, with the conviction that there is nothing necessarily preposterous in the assertions upon which this postulate is said to be based, that the critics will have to be met upon their own ground, that nothing is so likely to come out of the prolonged discussions of these days as truth, and that the exact facts on this question should be searched for as for hid treasure and gratefully received when found.

This and like criticisms may possibly add much to the common stock of knowledge as to the composition and matter of the books under consideration, but they are wholly aside from the question of the credibility and authority of the books as a whole.

The second paper on "St. Paul's First Journey in Asia," by Professor W. M. Ramsay, M.A., in the *Expositor* of September, continues an interesting investigation of historical records. The writer of the articles charms us with his honest acknowledgments that he has been misled by trusted writers. Even Lightfoot, whose statements have been so commonly taken as undoubted authority, is found at fault with reference to many matters.

At the outset the author puts the reader on his guard by stating the object of the paper to be this—viz., by examining the journeys in Asia Minor, to show that the account given in Acts of Paul's journeys is founded on, or perhaps actually incorporates, an account written down under the immediate influence of Paul himself. It is claimed that this original account was characterized by a system of nomenclature different from that which is employed by the author of the earlier chapters of Acts—viz., i.—xii. This original account used territorial names in the Roman sense, found also in Paul's epistles, whereas the author of the first twelve chapters uses them in the popular Greek sense, and it showed a degree of accuracy which the latter was not able to attain. Wendt dates the composition of the Book of Acts between 75 and 100 A.D., and holds that the original document alone was the work of Luke. With this view Professor Ramsay substantially agrees. That part of the Book of Acts beginning with chapter xiii., to the conclusion, had an independent existence before it was utilized or incorporated in Acts. This supposed original document is alluded to as the

"Travel Document." As incorporated in the Book of Acts, the document *may* have been modified or enlarged, but the author does not claim that any parts relating to Asia Minor can be characterized as pure additions. The Travel Document confirms and completes our knowledge of the country acquired from other sources in a way which proves its ultimate origin from a person acquainted with the actual circumstances. From this it is believed to follow that the original document was composed under St. Paul's own influence, for only he was present on all the occasions where the vividness of the narrative is specially conspicuous.

Several lines of travel are spoken of, to show the probabilities as to the route pursued by Paul, and interesting data and traditions are adduced, but the argument is not completed in this paper, and the reasonableness of the conclusion can hardly be passed upon from the data furnished.

THE OCTOBER MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for October, 1892, contains: "Frontispiece, 'Sorcery';" "The Baptismal Font of America," by Frank H. Mason; "Jane Field" (a novel), by Mary E. Wilkins, Part VI.; "Columbus," by Professor Dr. S. Ruge, Dresden; "A. B. Frost," by H. C. Bunner; "Tiger-Hunting in Mysore," by R. Caton Woodville; "Education in the West," by President Charles F. Thwing; "Paris Along the Seine," by Theodore Child; "The World of Chance" (a novel), by William Dean Howells, Part VIII.; "Silenus" (a poem), by Edward A. Upton Valentine; "Beaumont and Fletcher," by James Russell Lowell; "An Autumn Landscape" (a poem), by Archibald Lampman; "My Photograph" (a poem), by John B. Tabb; "The Efferati Family" (a story), by Thomas A. Janvier; "A Collection of Death-Masks," by Laurence Hutton (second paper).

The contents of THE CENTURY for October are as follows: "The Lotto Portrait of Columbus," Frontispiece; "What I Saw of the Paris Commune," I., Archibald Forbes; "The Whist-Players," Mary E. Wilkins; "The Lotto Portrait of Columbus," John C. Van Dyke; "Dare-the-Wind," Alice Williams Brotherton; "The Chosen Valley," VI., Mary Hallock Foote; "Picturesque Plant Life of California," Charles Howard Shinn; "Pavement Pictures," Edgar Fawcett; "A Mountain Europa," Part II., John Fox, Jr.; "The Nature and Elements of Poetry," VIII.; "The Faculty Divine," Edmund Clarence Stedman; "Pioneer Packhorses in Alaska," II., "The Return to the Coast," E. J. Glave; "The Man with a Violin," Wyatt Eaton; "Doggett's Last Migration," Hayden Carruth; "For Bravery on the Field of Battle," Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "Poet and Lark," Mary Ainge De Vere; "Architecture at the World's Columbian Exposition," V., Henry Van Brunt; "Thalassa," W. J. Henderson; "The Village Alien," Viola Roseboro; "Correggio," Italian Old Masters (conclusion of series), W. J. Stillman; "Kenosha Green" (October 23d, 1890), A. W. Drake; "Christopher Columbus," VI., "The Homeward Voyage," Emilio Castelar; "The Chateleine de La Trinité" (conclusion), by the author of "The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani," Henry B. Fuller; "Money in Practical Politics," Jeremiah W. Jenks; "Topics of the Time," "Open Letters," "In Lighter Vein."

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for October, 1892, contains: "In the World's Fair Grounds at Chicago—The Electrical Building from the Lake," Frontispiece; "The Making of the White City," the World's Fair at Chicago, H. C. Bunner; "Salem Kittredge, Theologue, His Secular Excursion," Part I., Bliss Perry (to be concluded in November); "French Art," II., "Romantic Painting," W. C. Brownell; "Stories of a Western Town," III., "Tommy and Thomas," Octave Thanet; "The Education of the Deaf and Dumb," Walter B. Peet; "Au-

tumn and the After-glow," Edith M. Thomas; "A School for Street Arabs" (the sixth article in the series on "The Poor in Great Cities"), Edmund R. Spearman; "Launching Cruisers and Battleships," William J. Baxter, U. S. Navy; "Wood Songs," Arthur Sherburne Hardy; "Homer," Andrew Lang; "Thomas Jefferson in Undress," Paul Leicester Ford; "In a Medicinal Garden," Grace Ellery Channing; "Historical Moments: The First Capital Operation Under the Influence of Ether," Daniel Denison Slade, M.D.; "The Point of View"; "Local Loyalty," "Morals and Principles," "Picturesqueness in Common Speech," "Wanted an English Mot."

THE OCTOBER ATLANTIC opens with an able paper by James C. Carter, entitled "Mr. Tilden." He gives an interesting résumé of Samuel J. Tilden's place in public life. Mr. Carter considers him the most distinguished example of our best class of statesmen. At the present moment, when Mr. Tilden's bequest is so much talked of, this will serve to show the manner of man he was, and will perhaps throw some light as to the way he would have wished his bequests to have been used. Mrs. Deland, in "The Story of a Child," gives some delightful passages in the life of her heroine, and the scene in which she and her playmate worship an idol is very cleverly written. We are glad to see that she introduces our old friend Mr. Tommy Dove and Miss Jane in a manner which leads us to believe that his wooing, as pictured in a former story, will be brought to a successful termination in this. Alexander Brown, author of the "Genesis of the United States," has a paper on "The English Occupancy of North America," and incidentally endeavors to put Captain John Smith back into his rightful obscurity. There is also a Calabrian story by Elizabeth Cavazza, called "Rocco and Sidora," and this, with Mr. Crawford's "Don Orsino," completes the fiction of the number. Mr. Hale's amusing papers on "A New England Boyhood" are continued, and Boston Common and his associations with it, forms the subject of this new instalment. Professor Shaler writes on a subject of the day—namely, "The Betterment of our Highways," and Mary A. Jordan has an article on "The College for Women." A stirring poem by Edith M. Thomas, entitled "Arria," another by Clinton Scollard, and some critical papers on "The Naulahka" and the Wrecker," on "Curzon's Persia," and on "Cavour as a Journalist," with the usual reviews and Contributors' Club, finish a number of uniform interest throughout.

THE CONTENTS of LIPPINCOTT'S for October are as follows: "The Kiss of Gold," Kate Jordan; "Hearing my Requiem" (Journalist Series), George Alfred Townsend; "The Prayer-Cure in the Pines," Clarence H. Pearson; "At the Stage Door," Robert N. Stephens; "The Carnival at St. Louis," James Cox; "Unconscious Service," Margaret J. Preston; "Muscle-Building" (Athletic Series), Edwin Checkley; "Old Paris," Sigismund J. Cauffman; "Under the Harvest-Moon," Helen Marion Burnside; "James Russell Lowell," Richard Henry Stoddard; "Christopher Columbus," John B. Tabb; "Men of the Day," M. Crofton; "As It Seems," "With the Wits."

CONTENTS of THE COSMOPOLITAN, October, 1892: Frontispiece, "Totokomila and Lisayé;" "Munich as an Art Centre," Charles De Kay; "An Old Southern School," Nathaniel T. Taylor; "Totokomila and Lisayé," John Vance Cheney; "A Persian's Praise of Persian Ladies," Ruel B. Karib; "The Great Railway Systems of the United States: The South Atlantic Railways," H. B. Plant; "Three Forms," Jonathan Sturges; "Liberal Tendencies in Europe," Murat Halstead; "At Midsummer," Louise Chandler Moulton; "Some Phases of Contemporary Journalism," John A. Cockerill; "Mr. Taswell Langdon in Seville," Marion Wilcox; "As to Certain Accepted Heroes," Henry Cabot Lodge; "To Dante," Edgar Fawcett; "New Mexican Folk Songs," Charles F. Lummis; "The Discontinuance of the Guide Board," Thomas Wentworth Higginson; "Social Strugglers," H. H. Boyesen; "The Human Eye as Affected by Civilization," D. B. St. John Roosa.

INDEX OF PERIODICALS, SEPTEMBER.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

AT. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Revie v. (Quarterly.)	Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
A. R.	Andover Review.	N. H. M.	Newberry House Magazine.
Bibl. Sacr.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)	N. E. & Y. R.	New Engander and Yale Review.
B. Q. R.	Baptist Quarterly Review.	N. W.	The New World.
Ch. Q. R.	Church Quarterly Review.	O. D.	Our Day.
C. M. Q.	Canadian Methodist Quarterly.	O. N. T. S.	Old and New Testament Student.
C. P. R.	Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)	P. M.	Preachers' Magazine.
C. R.	Charities Review.	P. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
C. T.	Christian Thought.	P. R. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
Ex.	Expositor.	R. Ch.	Review of the Churches.
Ex. T.	Expository Times.	R. Q. R.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
G. W.	Good Words.	S. A. H.	Sunday at Home.
H. R.	Homiletic Review.	S. M.	Sunday Magazine.
L. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.	T. Th.	The Thinker.
M. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)	T. Tr.	The Treasury.
M. H.	Missionary Herald.	Y. M.	The Young Man.
Alston Crucis, XV.-XVI., Helen Shipton, GW.	Life to Come, The, J. Monroe Gibson, M.A., D.D., SM.		
Amiel, Henri Frederic, Miss Ellen Urania Clark, AR.	Lock Elive, Pastoral Life or, I., Self-Contained Home Life,		
Angels, The Blessed, The Art and Poetry of, illustrated,	William Jolley, GW.		
W. H. Jewitt, NHM.	Love and Intelligence, The Divine, James C. Parsons, NW.		
Another Vessel Needed, MH.	Maita, Recollections of, Rev. E. J. Hardy, M.A., SM.		
Archangels, Rev. Principal G. C. M. Douglas, D.D., EXT.	Mansions, The Many and the Restitution of all Things, Rev.		
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- Loret, Victor.** Manuel de la langue Egyptienne : grammaire, tableau des hiéroglyphes. Textes et glossaire. Paris : Leroux, 1892. Pp. ix, 174, 8vo. [Also] La Flore pharaonique, d'après les documents hiéroglyphiques et les spécimens découverts dans les tombes ; par Victor Loret, maître de conférences d'égyptologie à la Faculté des lettres de Lyon, 2^e

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Patsig, E. Johannes Antiochenus und Johannes Malalas. Leipzig : Hinrichs, 1892. Pp. 32, 4to, 1.50 mk.

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Wusow, von. Staat und Recht, Religion und Kirche. Eine physiologische Studie. Grandenz : Gaebel, 1892. Pp. 32, 8vo, 80 pf.

Varley, H. The Infallible Word. A criticism of Rev. R. F. Horton's Book Inspection and the Bible, the Historical Accuracy of the Books of Kings and Chronicles Vindicated. An Upgrade Criticism. London : Holness, 1892. Pp. 148, 12mo, 1s.

Zahn, Th. Brot und Wein im abendmahl der alten Kirche. Leipzig : Deichert, 1892. Pp. 32, 8vo, 50 pf.

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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 30th of each month.)

Aug. 10-20. Fourteenth Biennial Convention of the German Lutheran Conference in New York City.

Aug. 16. Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Catholic Young Men's National Union at Albany, N. Y.

Aug. 24. Investiture of Most Rev. Angus Macdonald, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Edinburgh, with the Pallium.

Jubilee of the consecration of the Right Rev. William Piercy Austin, Bishop of Guiana. Bishop Austin is the prelate who has been longest in the bishopric, though other bishops are older than years.

Sept. 6. Formal dismissal by the Board of Visitors of the complaint against Professor Smyth, of Andover.

Sept. 7-8. Irish Church Congress at Armagh, at which the following subjects were discussed : "How to Deepen the Interest of our People in the Service of the Church." "The Ancient Irish Church : its Organization, Worship and Missionary Spirit, and How best that Spirit may be Revived;" "Authorized Lay-help and a Permanent Diaconate;" "Special Hindrances and Helps to the Spiritual Life of Individuals and of the Church in Our Day."

Sept. 9-11. Fourth Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Phillip, at Bethlehem, Pa.

Sept. 13-15. Second International Old Catholic Congress at Luzerne, Switzerland.

Sept. 14. Meeting of the Bishops of the (Roman Catholic) diocese of New York in New York City.

Sept. 18. Consecration of the Rev. A. Hunter Dunne, Bishop of Quebec, in Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal.

The Rev. George Hill has sent in his resignation as Bishop of British Columbia. He has been bishop thirty-three years.

The Rev. Alfred Clifford, M.A., secretary to the Church Missionary Society in Calcutta, has been appointed Bishop of the newly created see of Lucknow.

The Rev. Joseph Sidney Hill has been chosen Bishop of the Niger diocese to succeed the late Dr. Crowther.

The Rev. J. W. Hicks has been designated Bishop of Bloemfontein, Africa.

Mgr. Francis Satolli, Archbishop of Perugia, has been appointed Apostolic Delegate to the United States.

The Rev. Thomas D. Beaven, D.D., has been chosen (Roman Catholic) Bishop of Springfield to succeed the late Bishop O'Reilly.

The following resignations have taken place in the Seabury Divinity School : Rev. J. Macbride Sterrett, D.D., Professor of Ethics and Apologetics ; Rev. Charles L. Wells, A.B., B.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Polity and Canon Law ; Rev. A. M. Hilliker, B.D., Instructor in Ethics and Apologetics, and Rev. Charles A. Sherman, B. S., Instructor in the Preparatory Department.

The Rev. Peyton H. Hoge, D.D., has declined the call to the chair of Biblical and Pastoral Theology in Union Theological Seminary, Va.

Professor Oliver J. Thatcher, lately Professor of History in the United Presbyterian Seminary at Allegheny, is to take a position in Chicago University.

Rev. R. R. Lloyd, of Geneva, Ill., will have charge for the present year of the department of New Testament Greek and Exegesis in the Pacific Theological Seminary.

Rev. Daniel W. Shaw, of Cleveland, Ohio, takes the chair of Biblical History and Literature in the Theological Department of Howard University.

The Rev. N. White, D.D., has accepted the position of Dean of the Ryder (Protestant Episcopal) Divinity School of Lombard University.

The Rev. B. W. Wilkinson has been designated Professor of Pastoral Theology in Bishop's College (Church of England) in Canada.

The Rev. George F. Pentecost, D.D., has accepted the call to the pastorate of the Marylebone Presbyterian Church, London.

The Rev. Henry A. Buttz, D.D., President of Drew Theological Seminary, has been elected editor of the Methodist Review to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Menhall.

The announcement is made that the Nestorian Patriarch, Mgr. Chishnou, has been converted to Catholicism, and will carry with him into the Roman Catholic Church the majority of his priests and people.

OBITUARY.

Fuerstenberg, Frederick von (Roman Catholic Cardinal), at Kriemitz, in Austria, August 20, aged 80. He was appointed Archbishop of Olmutz, June 6, 1853, and was elevated to the Cardinals May 12, 1879. His immense wealth was devoted to the service of the church, and until the fall of the temporal power he maintained two battalions of the Pontifical

Army. He was known as an opponent, though not very active, of the dogma of infallibility.

Hoge, Rev. Moses A. (Presbyterian), D.D., at Zanesville, O., August 26, aged 74. He was graduated from the University of Ohio, 1838; taught in the Deaf and Dumb Institute, Columbus, 1839-44; studied theology with his father and at Princeton, and was ordained January 21, 1846; held the pastorate of the church of Athens, Ohio, 1846-50; of the Second church of Zanesville, 1851-55; and of the church of Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, O., 1866-71. He resided at Zanesville from 1871 until his death.

Kendall, Rev. Henry (Presbyterian), D.D. (Hamilton College, 1858), at East Bloomfield, N. J., September 9, aged 77. He was graduated from Hamilton College, 1840, and from Auburn Theological Seminary, 1844; was called the same year to the pastorate at Verona, New York; went to East Bloomfield, N. J., 1849; was called to the Third Church of Pittsburgh, 1858; was elected Secretary of the Committee of Home Missions when it was organized, 1861, retaining the office till his death. In 1884 he represented the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., at the Belfast Council of the Reformed Churches. He was a trustee of Auburn Theological Seminary, 1855-58, and since 1871 of Hamilton College.

Lipsius, Richard Adelbert (German Evangelical), Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1853); D.D. (Jena, 1858), at Jena, August 19, aged 62. He studied at Leipzig, 1848-51, became *privat dozent* there, 1855; appointed professor extraordinary, 1859; became ordinary professor of theology at Vienna, 1861, and at Kiel, 1865; removed to the same position at Jena, 1871, where he was also Geheimer Kirchenrat. He founded and edited the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, and also edited since 1885 the *Theologischer Jahresthebericht*. His publications have been very numerous and valuable, especially in the departments of Patristics and New Testament Apocrypha. He has also published in German a "Textbook of Evangelical Protestant Dogmatics," "Philosophy and Religion," and "Faith and Teaching. Theological Polemics."

Mease, Rev. Samuel (Dutch Reformed), D.D., in Lincoln, Neb., August 17, aged 64. He was graduated from Franklin and Marshall College, 1853; was licensed to preach and ordained, 1855; went as missionary to Cincinnati, the same year, where he organized the "Church of the Cross;" resigned his pastorate and became the owner of the *Christian World*, being elected editor, 1869; severed his connection with the paper, 1880, when he removed to Chicago, and thence to Nebraska in 1889. His later years were given to mission work.

Talmage, Rev. John Van Nest (Dutch Reformed), D.D. (Rutgers College, 1867), in Bound Brook, N. J., August 19, aged 73. He was graduated from Rutgers College, 1842; from New Brunswick Theological Seminary, 1845; was in the pastorate in Brooklyn, N. Y., 1845-46; offered himself as a missionary to China, and was accepted, 1846; served in Amoy, China, until 1889, when ill health necessitated his return to his home. He was an authority on the Chinese language, and has done much work on the translation of the Scriptures into Chinese. His chief work was "The Amoy Chinese Character Colloquial Dictionary."

CALENDAR.

Oct. 2. Centenary celebration of the foundation of the Baptist Missionary Society (of England) at Kettering.

Setting apart of the first graduates of the (Protestant Episcopal) New York Training School for Deaconesses.

Oct. 4-7. Anglican Church Congress at Folkestone, England. Eighty-third Annual Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Chicago, in the First Congregational Church. Rev. Daniel March, D.D., will preach the sermon.

Oct. 5. Assembling of the (Triennial) General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States at Baltimore. Among the most important matters to be passed on are the revised Prayer Book and the new Hymnal, the validity of Moravian orders, and the report of the Committee on Christian Unity.

Oct. 5-8. First Annual Convention of the Colored Congregation of the Church of Christ at Normal, Ill.

Oct. 12. Religious observances in all the Catholic churches of the United States in commemoration of the discovery of America.

Oct. 14-18. Meeting of the National Council of the Congregational Church of the United States in Plymouth Church, Minneapolis. The docket is as follows:

The sessions of Wednesday will be devoted to organization and reports of committees, secretary and treasurer and election of officers. The sermon, Wednesday evening, by Rev. C. M. Lamson, D.D., of St. Johnsbury, Vt.

Thursday, A.M. Appointment of committees. Report of committee of the relations of national benevolent societies to the churches.

Thursday, P.M. Reports of committees on the relations of these societies to each other and the religious needs of the army and navy, on a Congregational Manual for missionary churches, on the Mormon question, and on systematic benevolence.

Thursday evening. Report of Committee on Memorial to John Robinson. The International Council reports with short addresses by selected delegates and communication from members of the Council.

Friday, A.M. Report of committee on improvement of public worship, statement of the American College and Education Society, reports of committees on ministerial supply, to revise form of admission to the church, on relations with the Scandinavian churches and on missionary periodicals.

Friday, P.M. Statements of the benevolent societies, reports of committees on marriage and divorce and on Sunday observance.

Friday evening. Reports on Christian care of prisoners, on temperance and on city evangelization.

Saturday, A.M. The theological seminaries.

Sunday, A.M. The Lord's Supper.

Sunday evening. Reports of committees on union with Free Baptists and other denominations, and on Christian unity.

Monday, A.M. Reports of various committees of the Council and appointment of *ad interim* committees.

Monday, P.M. Unfinished business.

Oct. 13 sqq. Twenty-fourth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America in Fort Wayne, Ind.

Oct. 18. Universalist Church Conference for 1892 in Buffalo, N. Y.

Nor. 1. Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

Nor. 7-10. Free Church Congress in Manchester, England. The following is the program: Monday, opening of Congress with sermon by Rev. Principal Edwards of Bala Seminary; Tuesday, papers by Principal Randles and Principal Culross—“The Church,” by Principal Reynolds, on “The Sacraments,” by Rev. Thomas Sherwood, on “The Fellowship,” and public meeting in the evening, with addresses by Drs. Clifford and Gibson and the Rev. C. A. Berry; Wednesday’s topic, “The Influence of the Churches on the Home and Foreign Mission Fields;” paper on “The Churches and the Lapsed Population,” by the Rev. John Smith; on “Town Problems,” by Mr. Percy Hunting; on “The Rural Districts,” by the Rev. J. E. Chapman, and on “Foreign Missions,” by the Rev. Charles Williams; addresses by Mr. Albert Spicer and the Rev. W. J. Townsend; Thursday’s topic, “The Influence of the Churches on National Life,” with address on “Intemperance,” by Rev. John Smith; on “Social Morality,” by Rev. Hugh Price Hughes; on “Peace and Arbitration,” by Mr. T. Snape, and on “Industrial Questions,” by Rev. J. Guinness Rogers. The Congress will close with a communion service presided over by Dr. Maclaren.

Nor. 9. Meeting of the General Missionary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore.

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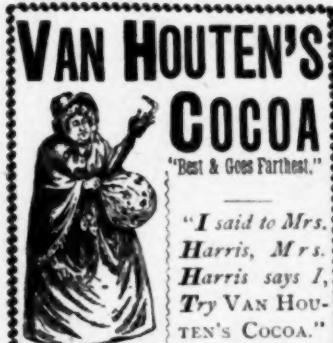
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